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JPRS-NEA-84-071

2 May 1984

## Near East/South Asia Report

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

19980324 163

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB UNITY TO CHECK THREAT OF FOREIGN LABOR IN GULF

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 15 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Muhammad Amin Faris: "Arab Cooperation to Limit Foreign Labor; Weak National Loyalty Increases Danger of Malignant Growth of Foreign Labor"]

[Text] A contemplative look at Arab resources reveals an apparent integration of these resources, aided by a spirit of optimism in Arab unity. With the increase of wealth, however, this hope has receded into a hope for cooperation and, more recently, coordination. Reality underscores the fact that development in the Arab nation cannot be achieved in regional isolation. Thus, Arab Gulf countries must preserve their clear identities and cohesion with the Arab nation.

There are three developmental phases of Arab cooperation in the field of emigration and migration from the sixties up until the eighties.

The first phase was represented in the dreams of Arab economic and political unity. This period was marked by building the young country's foundation, domination of the government sector, employment of Arab labor due to the closed-door policy and the availability of an Arab labor force at the source and the limited demand at the receiving end.

Thus, the 1984 economic unity agreement provided for the freedom of movement of individuals, money and goods and of ownership in the Arab nation. The 1965 meeting of [Arab] labor ministers in Baghdad restricted non-Arab immigration, and in 1967, the ministers approved an Arab agreement concerning labor migration, an agreement that was ratified by no more than six Arab countries. This was the phase of hope in Arab unity.

The second phase was one of shattered hopes in unity and shaky political decisions following the 1973 events. During this period, the Arab countries were rearranged according to income and the decision-making process shifted from the labor source to the host countries.

This period was associated with the fever of rapid growth in the host countries, thus compounding the need for skills in various fields and creating a kind of competition for labor while encouraging talk about a Gulf labor market. As a result of huge spending, the private sector came into being.

Capital got mixed with the ruling authority. These countries opened up to the outside world; the national dimension lost its influence; and the labor problem became easy to solve through the employment of Asian labor which is cheap and blindly submissive.

The objective of unity vanished in this period and was replaced by the 1975 agreement which was aimed, among other things, at promoting labor migration with a view to replacing foreign labor with an Arab one and encouraging Arab capital investments to absorb it. However, this agreement did not fare any better than the preceding one.

The third phase was the phase of preparing for the post-oil depletion period. This period witnessed the emergence of the labor camp method and the ready employment contracts and was marked by a preference for foreign labor which realized additional profits for the private sector. Whatever the case may be with regard to the eighties, the next century will draw its roots from this period.

It is necessary here to raise a vital question that must be answered concerning proposals to replace foreign labor with Arab labor, both in quality and quantity. It is possible that the size of the Arab labor force at the source will increase by more than 9 million during this period, and these additional projections are complemented by large numbers that come into view when peculiarities of the Arab labor force are scrutinized. Some of these peculiarities are:

-Various kinds of unemployment suffered by Arab countries such as Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Sudan, that compose 14 to 30 percent [of this labor force]. Add to that the demonstrable unemployment in the Arab countries brought on by the failure to employ technology in the various fields. This raises the rate of unemployment and lowers the rates of male contributions to economic activity which is no more than 26 percent, as compared to 40 percent in advanced countries, due to the high population growth. Likewise, female contribution to economic activities is considered low in Arab countries.

Moreover, Arab immigrants in West European countries, who number over 1 million, are threatened with expulsion and are seeking job opportunities in other Arab countries.

All these elements reinforce the view of a numerical surplus in the Arab labor market. Thus, it may be said with certainty that the Arab labor force can meet the demands of the host countries. This response calls for a review of the level and limits of their development.

We note that traditional education is still the tool employed in the development of human resources; as for technical education, it is still limited. Vocational training is still the best method for developing the labor force. This field is witnessing something of a revolution, be it in the countries of origin or the host countries. Nevertheless, this endeavor is still below the level of meeting the social demands for training, and vocation training efforts in the countries of origin and the host countries are tarnished by numerous negative aspects, including:

-Poor capacity to comprehend and meet development demands in the country of origin and to make up for the drain of skilled labor; high cost of training in host countries which depend on international training firms; poor training aids and courses that are unsuited for the advanced labor market requirements; shortage of instructors who are drawn to the labor force market and the lack of training grants in Arab countries.

The Arab Labor Organization [ALO] has proposed partial plans for vocational training through the creation of new training centers to meet training requirements. A comparison between the annual per capital income in the countries of origin and the host countries demonstrates the inability of the former to develop their labor forces singlehandedly to serve development needs in the host countries. If development policies maintain their regional limits, unemployment in some countries will inevitably rise, employment of Asian labor will increase, and the inability to respond to the host countries' needs for skilled labor will be aggravated.

It can be concluded that the Arab nation has a quantitative surplus of labor that exceeds the need of the countries of origin or the host countries, but does not meet the host countries' need for specific skills.

A study of foreign labor in the countries of origin or host countries shows that the size of the Asian labor force is on the increase in the various Gulf countries.

This fact is demonstrated by the Korean immigration experience of the "ready employment" type which is not solely dependent on Middle East countries, but rather extends to Japan and North America and has assumed the quality of settlement in some countries. These companies are known for their organization of work and life, their commitment to departure [i.e., leave when the job is done] and their ability to compete.

Philippino immigration is marked by: its limited scope due to the small population, acceptance of low wages and very few conditions [demanded on employment] which makes it competitive; its influence on life in view of the personal child rearing services it provides; and its supervision by employment agencies.

Pakistani immigration is largely due to the perception that it nurtures the Arab countries' need for a labor force Islamic in character. Its similarity to Arab immigration and its exploitation of the slogan of facilitating Islamic labor migration makes it closer to the Arab countries and their peculiar characteristics, but its effect on the Arabic language is evident; add to that the poor living conditions of Pakistanis in host countries.

This study of foreign labor explains the proposals concerning employment of Arab labor. A study of immigration data shows that the government sector in Arab Gulf countries is bent on employing Arab labor, but its influence in the labor market is limited due to private sector claims on most of its components.

In conclusion, substitution of foreign labor by Arab labor requires several concepts, including:

-The substitution process involves skilled people, and cooperation in this field will not be of limited scope because we are not dealing in commodities. Moreover, substitution is an old idea approved in the sixties (Arab labor migration agreements) and the 1980 Amman summit which defined substitution as an endeavor and a goal.

The study also confirmed that substitution opportunities may be utilized to convert human quantity to the desired quality; the substitution process also requires determination and hard work to carry it through.

The study further showed that the substitution process is controlled by the private sector in the host countries.

Therefore, it is necessary to direct efforts to private sector "businessmen and small merchants" to alert them to the perils of foreign labor and to consult on a review of special laws governing foreign labor, the bond system, collective and instant work permits, foreign employment agencies, provisions of foreign employment, firm treatment of citizens acting in collusion with foreign employment agencies, drawing up sector regulations, determining the actual need for labor and regulating import of labor in the personal services field.

In addition the following:

Imposing measures on foreign companies such as determining the size of the Arab labor force as a condition for their operation, imposing satisfactory living and work standards on these companies and making it incumbent upon them to train national and Arab workers;

Establishing an Arab contracting company or companies with a view to controlling the building and construction sector, a vital field for foreign labor immigration;

Reviewing the immigration policy that governs Arab resident aliens with regard to uniting their families and providing employment, training and educational opportunities for their children.

Finally, a nationwide comprehensive remedy for the development of human resources must be put forth within the framework of the common interest, and priorities may be set in the following fields: vocational training for the semi-skilled, skilled and technical employees in the country of origin; spreading employment offices throughout the country; and establishing a university concerned with scientific and applied research and specializations and augmenting the system of sending students to study abroad.

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CSO: 4404/399

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN DELEGATION VISITS DAMASCUS--Syrian information media did not publish the cable of congratulations which President Husni Mubarak sent on the occasion of the 8 March anniversary. Observers noted that this matter, which came on the heels of President Mubarak's statements to the American "CBS" TV Network in which he declared his adherence to Camp David even if it stood between him and his return to the Arab League, was an indirect reply to Syria's persistent demand to abandon Camp David. The last Syrian appeal to Mubarak in this regard was Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam's statement last Saturday when he said: "All Arabs are turning their heart, minds and sentiments to Cairo, wondering whether Cairo will do what Beirut has done. We assure our brothers in Egypt that the Arab nation will share with them the responsibility of national decision-making if they followed the example of fraternal Lebanon in abrogating the 17 May agreement. It is noteworthy that an Egyptian opposition delegation, including former information minister Mr Muhammad Fayiq, and Muhammad 'Uruq, former director of Voice of the Arabs, arrived in Damascus on a visit a few days ago. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 369, 17 Mar 84 p 11]

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ELECTION YEAR, LONGTERM AMERICAN ERRORS VIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 31 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Mishat: "Egyptian-American Relations and Election Oneupmanship"]

[Text] The news coming from the United States stresses that the Jerusalem card and the U.S. aid for Egypt card are being used in the election oneupmanship there. The U.S. presidential candidates are vying in making promises to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem and to tie U.S. aid for Egypt to the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv and to revitalizing the peace between Egypt and Israel.

This election oneupmanship which is taking place at the expense of our pan-Arab [al-qawmiyah] interests confirms the collapse of logic in the U.S. position vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States is displaying its full alignment with Israel day after day. This alignment is not tied to the election season only but is one of the features of U.S. policy toward the Middle East. It is indubitable that the final decision on these two issues will be reflected on the nature and future of Arab-American relations generally and Egyptian-American relations in particular.

The relations between Egypt and the United States have passed through numerous phases of cooperation and friendship, conflict and hostility. But never before did they reach the degree of firm cooperation which began 10 years ago. The question preoccupying the mind of the decision makers in Egypt and Washington has been: How can continuation of these firm relations be insured and how can the elements of tension be avoided, managed and contained before their consequences intensify?

However, there have been numerous mistakes whose accumulation has had negative effects on the cooperation between the two countries. It is perhaps beneficial to discuss these mistakes objectively in the attempt to project the future relations between the two countries.

The United states has committed two fundamental mistakes in molding its relations with Egypt. The first mistake is embodied in the fact that the United States has not viewed Egyptian-American relations from the angle of

their bilateral characteristic and has not tried to cement and develop these relations on the basis of considerations of the joint interests of the two countries. On the contrary, the United States has tried to transform this mutual bilateral characteristic into a complex characteristic that puts Israeli interests as a fundamental element in the equation of Egyptian-American relations. The United States has thus tied improvement in its relations with Egypt with improvement in Egyptian-Israeli relations. The channels of political, economic and military interaction and exchange between Egypt and the United States have thus come to pass through Israel first. Regardless of the dynamics of the U.S. internal policy which have motivated, and continue to motivate, the U.S. decisionmaker to underline this trilateral characteristic of the interaction with Egypt, this has had to have a negative impact on the relations between the two countries, especially when Egyptian-Israeli relations are not harmonious or when crises occur between the two countries, whether in connection with Palestinian self-rule, with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon or with the Israeli occupation of the Egyptian area of Taba and, subsequently, Egypt's withdrawal of its ambassador from Tel Aviv.

Moreover, the U.S. commitment to Israel, in the form of the 1979 understanding, the 1981 strategic cooperation agreement, the second strategic cooperation agreement of 1981 or the U.S. pledge not to negotiate with the PLO, is likely to curtail the enthusiasm of the Egyptian decisionmaker for his relations with the United States.

The second mistake is embodied in the attempt of the United States to impose the U.S. projection of national security on the area's countries, especially on Egypt. The U.S. projection is founded on besieging and containing the Soviet influence in the world as a primary condition for achieving security and stability. This is why ex-Secretary of State Alexander Haig tried to establish coordination among the area's countries, including Israel, within the framework of the "strategic consensus." But because the Arab countries, including Egypt, consider Arab national security different from U.S. security and consider that the essence of the former is in settling the Palestinian problem, it is natural that this affects the warmth of Egyptian-American relations. This is because Egypt is a central country in the region and is interested fundamentally in settling the regional conflict whereas the United States, as a superpower, is more concerned with the international conflict.

These mistakes, which have accompanied the phase extending from 1974 to 1984, in Egyptian-American relations had to reflect inevitably on the critical issues between the two countries. Egypt's attempts to demonstrate its protest over the aggressive and expansionist Israeli policies, its serious attempts to restore its relations with the sisterly Arab countries and its wish to develop a regional pan-Arab concept of Arab security are met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the United States. Moreover, major obstacles are put in the face of Egyptian policy in this regard, whether in terms of making it difficult to get aid, in terms of persistence in the blind support for Israeli terrorist militarism or in terms of the insinuation that the U.S. Embassy will be moved to Jerusalem.

Such latent and open signs of tension in the relations between countries are familiar. Even so, what is being done by the United States will inevitably have negative effects on the relations between the two countries, especially since these relations have been from the outset, and because of the position of each of the two countries in the international system, the subject of constant evaluation, particularly by Egypt and its colleagues, the small countries.

Nobody doubts the importance of continued friendly relations between the two countries, and even the importance of developing these relations. However, there are indispensable conditions in order that these relations may overcome the aforementioned signs of tension.

On the one hand, these relations must be established on the mutual respect for the political freedom of both sides. Consequently, it is necessary to reaffirm constantly the independence of Egyptian decision-making and will, without letting this reaffirmation anger the United States. The alternatives available to the Egyptian decisionmaker are numerous and possible [accessible] and are fundamentally connected with the possibilities of dealing with another international force. On the other hand, bilateral relations must be freed of the weight of the Israeli dimension. If the presidential candidates are unable to free themselves of the yoke of the Zionist pressure, then this should not reflect itself on Egyptian-American relations. It is worth noting here that an Arab leader such as King Husayn has launched a campaign of severe criticism of the U.S. policy in this regard.

In addition, the United States must aid the Egyptian movement to rebuild the Egyptian central political role in the Arab region and must not view this movement as a threat to the U.S. interest. This is because Egypt's central role is likely to unite the ranks in the area and to curtail the elements of division by bolstering the elements of attraction and curtailing the elements of repulsion. This also helps in achieving minimal pan-Arab consensus. These elements represent limits necessary for stability in the area.

It is perhaps beneficial here for the makers of U.S. policy decisions to realize that the period extending from 1967 to 1973, a period characterized by the highest degree of support for and alignment with Israel, culminated with the 1973 war. In other words, the long-range U.S. interest requires that greater efforts be exerted in an endeavor to find a just solution to the Palestinian issue--an issue embedded in the conscience of every Egyptian and every Arab. Any undermining of this issue by the United States will inevitably have a negative impact on Arab-American relations generally and Egyptian-American relations in particular.

The decisionmakers in both countries should not view these elements of tension solely in the light of election year. These elements are firmer and more lasting than mere election campaigns. The endeavor to deal with them requires fundamental changes in mutual awareness, understanding and policies.

NOTION THAT SHARI'AH APPLICATION THREATENS CHRISTIANS REFUTED

Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 14 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Al-Hamzah Da'bas: "Musa Sabri Shanudah Tries to Sell 'Tramway' to New Wafd"]

[Text] The 'tramway' in this case is the election votes of the Egyptian Copts. Musa Sabri, AL-AKHBAR's chief editor, has claimed that he owns all these votes and has offered to sell them to the New Wafd Party, believing that it is a naive party because it is new and because Sabri has not asked for a high price in return. Sabri is content to have Siraj-al-Din abandon his religion and separate himself from the religious currents in a manner evident to the voters and asks him to cling to the "banner of national unity" and not to "mix religion with politics." Going the distance with his offer, Sabri has said in an article entitled "Just A Warning," published in edition No 9900 of AL-AKHBAR: "I say frankly that this thing upon which the New Wafd has embarked will drive many votes away from it. Rather, it will scare away these votes." This is a new spark for sectarian sedition. The issue poses one of three possibilities:

First, that Musa Sabri owns these votes which he implies will move away or be scared away by the New Wafd. He will thus betray the trust of the party to which he belongs, namely the National Democratic Party. His membership in this party requires him to give his vote to the party, to influence all the election votes he can in its favor and not squander a single one of these votes by giving it to the other political parties competing with it.

The second possibility is that Sabri owns these votes and implies that he will give them to the New Wafd if it abandons its orthodox religion. Should this party abandon its religion out of desire for these votes, then Musa Sabri will betray it on election day and will observe the duties of his membership in the National Democratic Party. The New Wafd will thus lose its religion and lose all the votes owned by Musa Sabri.

The third possibility is that Sabri owns none of these votes and that the offer he has made is no more than an endeavor to create hope for winning an imaginary gain. In this, Musa Sabri's case is like the case of the person who sold the cable car when he didn't own it or the case of the person who paints air.

The truth is that religious fanatics and political radicals are evidently panicked by the reconciliation achieved recently between the New Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood and this panic has flooded their articles, which have disseminated the hatred they have in their hearts for love and harmony among the political factions, and their pens have been trying to sow sedition among these factions in enactment of the policy of "divide and rule."

Whoever thinks that application of the rules of the Islamic Shari'ah is in conflict with the principle of national unity--this unity which dictates that equality in rights and duties be established among the elements of the nation, that no preference be given to one element over another because of race, color or religion and that love and harmony be developed among all of them--is wrong. National unity does not mean that one of the nation's elements demands that the other elements abandon their religious or political beliefs, even if their adherence to these beliefs does not affect the principle of equality and of non-discrimination for the abovementioned reasons.

Under the slogan of national unity, it is unacceptable to demand, for example, that our Coptic brothers abandon their belief in the doctrine of Trinity in which we do not believe and which we deny. We cannot claim that if they do not abandon this doctrine they will have forsaken national unity. On their part, it is unacceptable that the brother Copts demand that we abandon the worship of the one God because if we worship Him we will have completely relinquished the principle of national unity.

Application of the dictates of the Islamic Shari'ah is to the Muslims one of the religious rites God has instructed them to observe. This application is noted in the Koran in the form of an order that must be carried out. If we hear and obey, then we will be God's servants and if we hear and disobey, then we will be sinful.

Thus, you find the Muslims, both rulers and ruled, between a rock and a hard place. Musa Sabri promises the votes of the Coptic voters in this world. But he maintains utter silence on what awaits us in the hereafter if we take up his advice, promising us nothing there. It is as if he forgets or pretends to forget that there is a hereafter and that he is not the least bit concerned over what happens to us in the other life because he does not care in which of hell's valleys we perish.

Meanwhile, God, may He be praised, promises us in His book that if we follow His path, we will not suffer and will not be misled in this world and will enjoy an everlasting paradise in the hereafter, and God's promise is the true promise. God also threatens us with hardship in this life and hell in the hereafter if we fail to obey his orders. God, may He be praised, has said: "There comes to you guidance from me; whosoever follows my guidance will not lose his way, nor fall into misery." But whosoever turns away from my message, verily for him is a life narrowed down, and we shall raise him up blind on the Day of Judgment." He will say: "O my Lord! Why hast thou raised me up blind, while I had sight (before)?" God will say: "Thus didst thou, when our signs came unto thee, disregard them: so wilt thou, this day, be disregarded." Verses 124, 125, 126 of taha's sura.

The fact is that the non-Muslim people of the book [Christians and Jews] have a special position. God has instructed us to debate them with kind words, saying: "Dispute ye not with people of the book, except with means better than mere disputation, unless it be with those of them who inflict wrong and injury; but say, "We believe in the revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you; our God and your God is one; and it is to him we bow in Islam." Verse 46 of Spider's sura.

The Egyptian Copts are people of the book and they have in Islamic society the same rights the Muslims have and shoulder the same duties the Muslims shoulder. One of these rights is their right to be protected, the same as the muslims, from foreign aggression. This is why the second volume of the Hanbali book "Ula al-Nuha" says: "The imam must protect the people of the book, stop those who harm them, release them from captivity and drive away those who seek to harm them if they live among us, even if they are (isolated in a country)." The book justifies this by saying: "The rules of Islam apply to them and their contract is lasting and is binding to the Muslims"

(Pages 602-603).

Imam al-Quarafi, a follower of the Maliki school of thought, relates in his book "Al-Furuq" the statements which Imam al-Zahiri ibn Hazm mentions in his book "Maratib al-Ijma" which say: "If enemies launch war against the people of the book--meaning the non-Muslim--we, the Muslims, must step forth to fight them with arms and must die defending those who are in God's custody and the custody of His prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him. Failure to do so is failure to uphold the covenant of protection" (Volume III, pp 14-15).

These rights are not just phrases in books. They have been applied practically. History books tell us that the Tatars attacked Syria and took Muslims and non-Muslims as prisoners. When the time to release the prisoners came, the Tatars' commander--who was as ignorant of the teachings of Islam as many people are ignorant of them now--allowed the release of the Muslims but not of the people of the book. Ibn Tamimah, then Shaykh of Islam, told the commander: "We will not accept unless all the Jewish and Christian prisoners are released because they are under our protection. We will not allow one of the people of the book to continue to be a prisoner." When the commander saw the shaykh's determination, he released them.

It is our duty to reassure Musa Sabri and every Copt in Egypt that application of the Islamic Shari'ah does not and will not undermine their rights at all. Rather, we Muslims are instructed by the venerable Koran to be charitable, fair and just to the non-Muslims, as made evident in God's words in the eighth verse of al-Mumtahanah sura which says: "God exhorts you to be charitable and just to those who have not fought your religion and have not driven you away from your homes, and God loves the just." Explaining the meaning of "being charitable to them," Imam al-Qarafi says that it means "being kind to their weak, helping their poor, feeding their hungry, clothing their naked and speaking gently to them out of kindness and mercy and not out of fear and subservience, enduring their harm as neighbors while being able

to eliminate this harm and out of gentleness toward them and not out of fear or of submission, advising them on all religious and secular matters, safeguarding them in their absence should somebody seek to harm them, protecting their property, their honor and all their rights and interests, helping them repel any injustice done them, leading them to all their rights and imploring God to guide them and to make them happy" ("Al-Qurun [The Ages], Volume III, p 15).

God lead us to the right path, help us guide others, guide all people, guide Musa Sabri and guide the people of the book and make them happy people if they are guided, O Lord of the universe.

If I had any say in the National Democratic Party, I would order that Musa Sabri be expelled from the party and from AL-AKHBAR, and I would not be unfair if I did so for two reasons: First, Sabri is trying to betray this party and, second, he is trying to ignite the fires of sectarian sedition and to violate the parties law which stipulates that national unity be preserved.

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CSO: 4504/240

## IMPORT SYSTEM, RATIONALIZATION COMMITTEES EXPLAINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Usamah Saraya: "How Do Import Rationalization Committees Operate; 137 Commodities Submitted to Higher Rationalization and Import Committee; Import Rationalization Is Not 'Ban'"]

[Text] How do import rationalization committees operate? Several aspects of their method of operation are the subject of criticism. Recently, the Ministry of Economy has established a number of important facilitations which the rationalization committees are implementing. However, there are several important questions raised by the importers, such as the question: Why should food commodities which need to be imported have to be submitted to the rationalization committees? How do the technical committees and the general committee operate? What is the task of the "Every-Tuesday Committee" which includes all the first undersecretaries of the ministries concerned with imports, which is headed by Ahmad al-Banna, the first undersecretary of the Ministry of Economy, and which has the right to "veto" any decision reached by the technical import rationalization committees, meaning that if the importer's request is rejected initially, then he is entitled to appeal a technical committee's decision to the Higher Rationalization Committee.

How do the committees implement the system of import without currency remittance and what are the four groups on whose basis the imports are made? Ahmad al-Banna, the Higher Rationalization Committee chairman, has provided clear answers stating that:

The number of commodities submitted to the rationalization committees so far is 137 commodities.

The rationalization committees are not intended to "ban" imports but to harmonize our commodity production and our needs. A "ban" is imposed on a commodity if local production is available in good quality and quantity and at competitive prices.

There is no direct contact between the importer and the rationalization committees, unless through the chambers of commerce. The Ministry of Economy supports a chamber's apparatus with technical expertise so that the chamber may be able to achieve its objectives with high efficiency.

As for the important facilitations approved by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economy and foreign trade, they allow factories to submit their annual requirements to the rationalization committee and get its approval all at once, without the need to return to the committee again.

As for samples and advertisements, the factories have been permitted [to import] within the limits of 3,000 pounds annually without referring to the rationalization committee and with such samples released by the customs authorities directly.

As for spare parts for factories, the factories have been permitted to import within the limits of 5,000 pounds, instead of the previous limit of 3,000 pounds, and to do so repeatedly without referring to the rationalization committee or getting its approval. The previous limit of 3,000 pounds was not repeatable.

As to why food commodities have to be submitted to the rationalization committees as long as their importation has been permitted, Ahmad al-Banna, the first undersecretary of the Ministry of Economy and the Higher Rationalization Committee chairman, has said that the main objective of submitting this group to the rationalization committee is to have the committee review it or make sure of the prices at which this group of commodities is imported. The objective is not to set the volume, as long as the importation is permitted in principle. Most of these commodities are exempted from customs fees. Should there be excesses or should the importer submit unreal prices, then he can reap abnormal profits, taking advantage of the customs exemption at the expense of the consumer for whose benefit the customs exemption was fundamentally established. Moreover, the approval of unreal prices leads to opening credit accounts abroad for the importers and, consequently, to the unjustifiable seepage of foreign currency to the outside world, thus putting pressure on the volume of this currency in the market and raising its prices in the local market. As for the second group, the importer pays an insurance of 40 percent for the same period, namely one month. This group pertains to raw materials and production requirements, of which 652 million pounds' worth has been imported this year, and machinery, tractors, fodder components, cement, lumber of various kinds, reinforcement iron, medicines, pesticides and printing materials.

As for the third group, the importer pays a cash insurance equal to the full value of the imports. The value of this type of imports has amounted to 186 million pounds. These imports include butter, natural cooking fat, liquid milk, children's toys, cosmetics, cables, electric refrigerators, washing machines, air conditioners, videos, wallpaper, telephone equipment, sanitary utensils, such as porcelain and ceramic tiles, perfumes and various luxury goods.

According to Ahmad al-Banna, the system of importation without money remittance is still applied to most import commodities (in the system). In accordance with this system, we find that the commodities of the first group are subject to open importation after the rationalization committee verifies the price

submitted through the various ministries to make sure of this price. As for the second, third and fourth groups, they are imported directly through the customs authorities. The commodities submitted to the rationalization committee under the provisions of the so-called "supplement No 2" are commodities for which there is a counterpart in local production or commodities pertaining to social considerations. The number of commodities submitted to the rationalization committees amounts to 137 commodities. The determination regarding these commodities is tied to the need to establish a balance between consumption and production. Rationalization does not mean an absolute ban on importation. However, a ban is imposed if it is proven that local production is available in abundance, in good quality and at competitive prices. Absolute importation is permitted for goods to which no counterpart is found in local production. Partial importation is also permitted to make up for the deficit between production and consumption.

#### How to Submit Import Applications

The importer submits the application on the form prepared for the purpose by the chamber of commerce. After getting the data he needs from the banks and having the customs authorities determine the commodity group, the importer must submit his application to the Cairo Chamber of Commerce and Alexandria Chamber of Commerce in their capacity as representatives of the importers and here the applications are gathered and classified and then taken in folders by representatives to the technical committee's secretariat.

Through this procedure or arrangement, direct contact between the committee and the importers is avoided, except through the chambers of commerce.

The second step after receiving the applications is to distribute them to the specialized subcommittees. One subcommittee is concerned with foodstuffs and is made up of officials of the Ministry of Supply and representatives of the Cairo and Alexandria Chambers of Commerce "to make decisions on the prices" and to verify their serious nature. Another subcommittee is for manufactured commodities and includes engineers from Industrial Control and from some public sector companies specialized in producing the type of commodity whose import is sought. These subcommittees discuss the type of commodity to be imported, but not the quantities. The committee is then given the technical decision on whether there is or is not a similar product that can meet the needs. This subcommittee meets twice weekly as a result of the many industrial applications submitted. There is also a technical subcommittee for civilian goods produced by the military sector.

In addition to the technical subcommittees, there is the Higher Rationalization Committee which meets every Tuesday. By studying the structure of this committee, we find that it includes all the high technical expertise in the various ministries. It includes the first undersecretaries of the ministries of industry, supply, war production, housing, tourism and electricity, members of the chamber of commerce, of the Industries Union, of the Investment and Free Zones Authority and of the customs agency.

The Higher Committee reexamines the applications turned down by the technical committees and is empowered to veto the decisions of these committees. After approval of the import applications, the applications are sent to the Cairo and Alexandria Chambers of Commerce, depending on the case, and a copy of the import approval is sent to the Tax Agency to enable it to tax the import for his activities. All this takes a maximum of 10 days as of the date on which the application is received by the technical committee or the Higher Committee.

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CSO: 4504/240

EGYPT

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH IRAQ--The value of commercial exchange between Egypt and Iraq amounted in 1983 to \$80 million. The value of Egyptian exports to Iraq is equal to the value of Egypt's imports from Iraq. This has come as a result of the development of trade relations between the two countries and the conclusion of a number of commercial exchange agreements in the past 3 years. This figure does not include the value of Egyptian weapon exports to Iran. It is to be noted that trade exchange between Egypt and Jordan has also risen to \$37 million, including \$27 million in Egyptian exports. These figures came prior to the conclusion of the latest trade agreement between the two countries last December. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 47, 3 Mar 84 p 59] 8494

TRADE WITH SUDAN--Within the framework of the economic integration program, Egypt and Sudan seek to raise the volume of their trade exchange to 126 million Egyptian pounds next year, compared to 50 million pounds at present. The trade exchange between the two countries will be enhanced through the entry of the integration projects' agricultural and food production into the stage of actual production. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 47, 3 Mar 84 p 59] 8494

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW GOVERNORATE--The Egyptian technical committees have begun their work to delineate the area of new al-Nubariyah Governorate, making it the third governorate in the Alexandria region, which includes Matruh, Alexandria and al-'Amiriyah. The new governorate will include economic, production and service activities that will accommodate 3 million citizens by the year 2000. One million feddans of land will be reclaimed in the new governorate, which includes the new al-Dakhilah Port on the Mediterranean Sea. It will also include lands that are currently under the jurisdiction of the governorates of Alexandria, al-Buhayrah and Matruh. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 47, 3 Mar 84 p 60] 8494

CSO: 4504/240

## BANK'S ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Dubayy KHALEJ TIMES in English 16 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Aileen Keating]

[Text]

MANAMA—A heated blast is aimed at the banks in this week's local Arabic Press, accusing them to entering into competition in the property and real estate market.

"It is totally unacceptable for the foreigners (OBU's and banks) to involve themselves in the areas of activities exclusively being carried on by Bahrainis who have nothing else to live on," is the plaintive cry in the weekly Al Adhwa. It continues, "It has been noticed that OBU's have started to acquire licences for the construction of massive office blocks, not only to house their own headquarters, but also to invest in property in direct competition against the local citizens. Examples of these property investments are seen at the high-rise buildings in the diplomatic area, which buildings are far in excess of the actual needs of their owners."

All banks come in for scathing criticism as the editorial comments, "Is it not enough for these banks to yield huge profits without being asked to pay any taxes? The other commercial banks are not any better either as they are normally the source of lending to local citizens who are heavily charged for their borrowing. Is this the regard of hospitality that drives these banks to compete with local citizens in the very limited areas of earning an income although these banking firms only contribute to exporting inflation to the local people?" the weekly asks.

No doubt this heartfelt plea is timely. Distribution of income and

wealth in Bahrain has succeeded in spreading fairly evenly through the population with the result that much of the middle class has been able to speculate in the building of large blocks of flats and compound housing, seeing this as a sure-fire income earner. As, indeed, it once was.

In earlier years, when new projects were known to be in the pipeline, whole compounds were speculatively constructed by single landlords and successfully placed on long lease to the new companies. Usually, this covered both the period of construction activity being undertaken by foreign contractors and the permanent staff once the project was operational.

However, new projects attracting large foreign work forces are increasingly few and far between. The emerging strata of new landlords may have begun their run too late.

Emphasis on Bahrainisation has, to a great extent, reduced the need to house expatriates. The growing number of Bahrainis in management and skilled jobs, the levels at which individual housing has traditionally formed part of the employment contract, do not need the open market: they are entitled to government supplied homes, land grants or company-backed housing schemes.

In addition, Bahraini contractors undertaking large jobs more and more frequently build their own work force accommodation and add this to the assets of their companies.

In fact this method has come into vogue all-round. The latest pro-

jects in Bahrain to bring in a sizeable work force are the Saudi Bahrain Causeway and the Arab Iron & Steel Company (AISCO).

Ballast Needam, main contractors on the causeway, installed on-site barracks for their bachelor construction workers. Most impressive is their ultra-modern compound, incorporating recreation areas and a school, which they built to house their management and married employees. As to whether this compound will revert to Bahraini ownership after the causeway is completed, Ballast Needam people are not prepared to state, commenting only, "We have an arrangement which will come into force after seven years."

Arab Iron & Steel have built a cluster of 60 housing units on their site to house their plant operators and shift supervisors. Although they are meeting their managerial housing needs from the open market at present, this is by no means certain to continue. The plan is for full Bahraini management within a very limited period of time.

Gulf Air is by far the largest single accommodation buyer in Bahrain. According to Housing and Services Manager Ali Mahanna, the airline currently leases 850 units comprising houses and flats. Mr Mahanna says this figure could rise to 1,000 by the end of 1984. Gulf Air leases are much sought after as the airline undertakes all maintenance asking the landlord only to take responsibility for the building structure.

Nevertheless, since completion of the prestigious Gulf Air Tower

in the diplomatic area, nine floors have been utilised to house senior staff while the lower three floors accommodate the airline's management offices.

Gulf Air, however, escaped the tirade of the local Press as they noted, somewhat intriguingly, that the airline "has been recommended to refrain from constructing buildings for accommodation purposes so as to lease houses built by local citizens in a bid to encourage property investments."

All of which leaves the ball fairly and squarely in the banks' courts as the only remaining source of substantial long-term accommodation leases.

Yet, it must be said in defence of the banks that many of the landlords have tried to make rather too good a thing of the banks' top end of the market employee accommodation policies.

Even such lucrative institutions must draw the line somewhere. Dramatic annual increases of individual rents plus new housing being offered at prices which would have been laughable just a couple of years ago must have convinced the professional money men that investing in property makes a lot of sense.

This trend has the advantage of killing two birds with one stone: it removes the banks from the clutches of over-zealous property owners while increasing the banks' assets at the same time, which surely is their business after all and, furthermore, their responsibility to their Bahraini and Gulf shareholders.

CSO: 4400/215

## PORAT'S APPOINTMENT TO BROADCASTING AUTHORITY DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Mar 84 p 11

[Text] Whoever said that friendship is dead in Israel does not know what he is talking about. Recently we have witnessed a touching demonstration of friendship--a coalition from one end of the political spectrum to the other, a kind of national consensus from the extreme right with its spokesman, MK Roni Milo, to the radical left with its representative, MK Yosi Sarid. To a man they all enthusiastically support the candidacy of Uri Porat for the position of general manager of the broadcasting authority and are making every effort on his behalf. In the middle--his intimate friends, persecuted reporters ready to shed blood for freedom of speech who are engaged in a holy war against oppressors and silencers alike--the life-blood of Israeli democracy. All of them are doing battle for Porat. Saints will always find others to do their work for them.

But in fact Porat's qualifications for this exalted task are very dubious. However, as we said, he has friends good and true, and in the name of friendship they are apparently ready to give up several sacred principles just to see him in the position of general manager of the broadcasting authority. The situation being such, with Porat's star rising and getting brighter while Lapid's is fading from day to day, I have provided more than just my personal opinions of the man. Indeed on countless occasions he has vent to his unreserved opinions on the question of the media and their place in a democratic country and has clearly proven what he is capable of. But I was not satisfied even with that and want to check the calling card of the one who became famous by dint of "The First Parliament," which is well remembered. (As for myself, I have only one weakness with regard to Porat: his book, "The Blood Libel Accusation Against Lishenski," which won him the March prize in 1973.)

There is no problem at all in discerning the world view and opinions of the future appointee as general manager of the authority on the matter of the position and function of the media. He has expressed his opinions unequivocally on many occasions. He apparently has a particular affection for a certain part of his anatomy and, to judge by his own testimony, many reporters have already visited that site and done a proper job of licking. He encourages others to visit there as well so as not to miss out on the pleasure. This is proof positive of the etiquette and delicacy befitting a true member of the aristocracy, as his paper recently dubbed him.

Alongside his articles on the matter of love of Israel and the question of treason, one can also learn a great deal about his patience and broad-mindedness from his public reactions when he served in the capacity of advisor to the prime minister on media matters, a function which earned him respect and great trust.

On the basis of his pronouncements Mr Porat does not have much appreciation for the profession of journalism--and even less for its practitioners. News photographers in his view are "paparazzi." In "Moked," he warns that "the more media there are, the more people are hurt"; and he bases these opinions on mysterious research which he is later unable to produce. This is not the only testimony to his trustworthiness and his care for the truth in his words and statements. Who does not recall his famous statements on the matter of Menahem Begin's health? ("Begin is functioning beautifully, his health is fine. His mental health is excellent, which is a sometimes rare commodity in Israeli politics." "People are attributing imaginary illnesses to the prime minister. I am sick and tired of responding to nonsense." And more of the same.) His tangled relationships with foreign reporters are already well-known, as is his English. While a civil servant, he behaved like a politician and found it proper to engage in political polemics with reporters whose views he did not like--whence he sent them to his famous rear.

In "Personal Questions" with Ya'akov Agmon he exposed still more of his liberal world view. There he talked about the "dark side" of the newspaper profession in which there is "drunkenness, power and pride"--(apparently he learned from his own experience). He saw himself as authorized to set "the fine line of anti-government criticism which, when crossed, causes harm to the country," and came out against reporting the ministerial difference of opinion on the war in Lebanon. Thus he also decided that "it is an open question whether the national media are obeying the law, and there are some there who interpret 'national' and 'anti-government.' He repeated his accusation that the media published "indiscriminate accounts which have damaged the country's security" and also charged them with "lack of responsibility." He called for the establishment of an "accredited journalistic body before which complaints could be brought against errant newspapermen so that justice might be rendered."

In a notorious interview in "Monitin" (which he himself tried to deny afterwards), he launched an unbridled attack, unparalleled in its crudity and arrogance, against certain newspapers and reporters. These are just a few of the aristocratic features of the man whose favor everyone wants, and who will soon rule over a "correct" radio and television.

The question arises: What is his rare attraction, and how did such an unholy alliance left, right and TV people arise -- all on behalf of Uri Porat? It turns out that the decisive appeal arose in the Herut movement. There the first priority is to set the television house in order. Thus MK Roni persuaded Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir (who is not one of Porat's fans and did not want him as media advisor) that this was an opportunity to surround himself with a "Merut" center, with an influential, popular motto to warm the hearts of a large group of people: setting the despised television authority's house in order. He represented Porat as the man for the job as opposed to the

the "leftist" Lapid. However, apart from the three ministers, Cohen-Orgad, Arens and Korpo, who found it difficult to get along with a man as untalented and uncouth as Porat and who were inclined to support a continuation of Lapid's tenure, all of the government ministers agreed to support Porat's candidacy as if it meant immediate salvation. They managed to muster to their side and not against it a group of people of the left, if you can imagine it (those concepts here have long been blurred), among whose principal spokesmen were reporter Aharon Becher, a soul mate of Porat's, and MK Yosi Sarid. These do not simply favor the holy principle of "friendship," but rather Porat has apparently "sold" them on the idea that under him "everything will be open," and that his administrative standard is the newspaper YEDIOT AHARONOT, the crucible in which he was formed and in which the dominant principle is "let the rumors fly." These friends are also convinced that Porat is an honorable man, that will be true to them and would be ashamed to do otherwise.

But not everything is from a pure love of principle. It seems that MK Sarid sees this as a golden opportunity to remove television director Tuvya Sa'ar, whom he does not like. Apparently Porat has also let it be understood that after the removal of Sa'ar (which is already overdue), he will appoint Hayim Yavin or Alex Giladi as director, two appointments which could also be argued.

Another appeal which has been working incessantly on Porat's behalf is the one which was organized in the television authority itself. There it seems that hatred of Lapid has totally confused a lot of people; and therefore people who are not particularly naive are prepared to believe the many promises that Porat is making, among which is that of removing from disrepute those whom Lapid dismissed--even though, at the time, he (Porat) had vilified them with a passion. There are those who infer from that Porat is not the kind of person who likes hard work, and they therefore hope that he will be satisfied with the titular honor and dispense authority freely. People in this group have also been whispering that Porat has changed and is today a true liberal. I am amazed that no one has whispered of that change to Milo and Shamir. Perhaps Porat has made different promises to them and they know what to believe. After all it is very hard to imagine that Porat would betray those very power-brokers who appointed him for a clearly defined purpose just so as not to embarrass himself at parties with his friends.

Indeed, my heart does not particularly ache for Lapid. But the fact that "Herut" does not want him and that they see him as a "leftist" is like a red warning light. Porat's problem is not that he is more rightest or leftist, liberal or conservative; the shame is that a man of his rank will be general manager of the broadcasting authority. Mr Porat's calling card speaks for itself. I have no doubt that the day is not far off when the good friends of this liberal aristocrat will approach him one by one on foot and also be forced to learn a detailed lesson in his fascinating anatomy.

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CSO: 4423/46

## DEFENSE AGAINST BIOLOGICAL-CHEMICAL WEAPONS CLAIMED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Mar 84 p 13

Article by 'Iman'el Rosen: "The IDF Has Built One of the World's Best Defense Systems Against Chemical-Biological Attack"

Text The terrible secret was kept for many years. It was at the end of World War II, at the time of the allied invasion of Italy. The German air force, in one of its last desperate sorties, bombed a convoy of American ships anchored at the port of Bari. One of those ships, damaged by a German bomb, carried mustard gas in its hull--one of the most lethal weapons of the chemical weapons family. The deadly gas spread over the Italian port city and left thousands of injured behind it--American soliers and Italian citizens.

A few years ago an American newspaperman exposed the secret, which had been kept for so long, in a book which he wrote entitled "Disaster in Bari." The conspiracy of silence was undone and left many stunned, but chemical-biological warfare is no longer a mystery. It was first used in World War I and afterwards in many other wars around the world.

The Egyptians made use of chemical weapons in their war in Yemen on the eve of the Six Day War. In the Yom Kippur war IDF soliers discovered that the Syrians and Egyptians were equipped with all the accessories for defense against chemical-biological warfare: Each soldier had a gas mask, protective clothing and antibiotics in case of injury. According to not entirely confirmed reports, the Russians are making use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan.

The pictures of the Iranian wounded shown on television and printed in the newspapers and the doctors' descriptions leave little room for doubt: The Iraqis have entered the chemical warfare battleground.

Brig Gen (Res) Professor Dan Mikha'eli, who was IDF chief medical officer and today serves as director of the Ichilov hospital in Tel Aviv, says that it is necessary to distinguish between chemical and biological weapons. "To the best of my knowledge, there is today, at least in the west, no activity in the field of biological weapons." Nevertheless we know that 10 years ago an accident befell the Russians in the area of their biological weapons production plants. There was a leak and various illnesses were spread among the inhabitants. The Russians today protect their soldiers against biological

weapons --apparently to enable them, some day, to enter areas after they have shelled them with this kind of weapon and to act freely. There were attempts in the United States, as well, to develop biological weapons, but President Richard Nixon ordered at that time that they be stopped," says Professor Mikha'eli.

Biological warfare--the "ammunition" of which is microbes--and chemical warfare--the activation of toxins--were intended to cause mass, indiscriminate injury in an army or among civilians.

In chemical warfare, which is better known in the world of medicine, four types of "weapons" are known:

1. Nerve gases--composed of organic phosphates which cause damage to the nervous system, respiratory paralysis and death.  
Professor Mikha'eli reveals: "Israel has known injuries from this gas since agriculture insecticide plants make use of it. (The Iraqis, in order to camouflage their chemical warfare weapons, said that they were building an insecticide plant in the desert--E.R.) More than once people have been treated at hospitals for exposure to this gas, whether as the result of an accident or even after murder attempts, which are known in this fashion mainly in the Arab sector."
2. Mustard gas--there is no practical experience of this in Israel, and knowledge is based on the medical literature. This gas is connected to the family of materials which, in the past, were used in the war against cancer. At the first stage it causes severe burns and scalds and also penetrates the clothing; after a few days it affects the bone marrow and white blood cells, and the body's immune system against pollutants is destroyed. Long and painful suffering ultimately leads to death.
3. Cyanide--the Germans used it in the gas chambers of World War II.
4. Disabling gas--gases of this type do not kill, but they dull the victim for several days and cause delusions and confusion. The injured will recover, but almost certainly when he opens his eyes he will find himself in enemy captivity.

The nations of the world are investing billions of dollars in the preparation of civilian and military protective systems against chemical and biological attack. In Israel the IDF and the Ministry of Health stepped up their activity in this area after the Yom Kippur War. In the civil defense arena there is today a gas mask for every citizen, and emergency procedures are ready and practiced.

"Our policy is simple," Professor Mikha'eli explains, "We believe that the enemy can be prevented from using this weaponry, first and foremost, by readying a superior system of defense. He will thereby know that the prospects for massive injury and destruction are weak. I can only say to the Israeli people that the defensive system built by IDF is among the world's best."

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CSO: 4423/46

## PUBLIC HAS POOR OPINION OF KNESSET MEMBERS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 9 Mar 84 p 12

Text The Knesset and its members suffer from a bad image in the eyes of the public--according to a public opinion survey conducted for MA'ARIV. The survey was conducted by the research institute of "Civilian Information" under the administration of Dr Sarah Shemer.

In order to check the Knesset image and that of MK's and the chairman of the Knesset, the public was asked a number of questions:

1. In your opinion, do the majority of MK's invest more or less effort in their Knesset duties than other civil servants (mayors, for example)?

percent

1. more effort	6.1
2. same effort	15.7
3. less effort	62.9
4. don't know	13.7
5. no response	1.6

2. In your opinion, do MK's perform their job duties in the Knesset more out of personal interest or more out of public interest?

1. more out of public interest	12.8
2. sometimes personal, sometimes public interest	30.2
3. more out of personal interest	47.0
4. don't know	8.9
5. no response	1.1

3. Overall, do you feel that most of the MK's represent you properly?

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. generally represent me properly        | 20.0 |
| 2. generally do not represent me properly | 65.5 |
| 3. don't know                             | 12.8 |
| 4. no response                            | 1.7  |

4. Overall, does the present Knesset function better or worse than the previous Knesset?

- |                    |      |
|--------------------|------|
| 1. much better     | 1.9  |
| 2. a little better | 8.1  |
| 3. the same        | 32.3 |
| 4. a little worse  | 31.7 |
| 5. a lot worse     | 8.9  |
| 6. no response     | 1.4  |

5. Compared to the previous Knesset chairman (Yitzhaq Berman), in your opinion, how does the present chairman (Savidor) function?

- |                    |      |
|--------------------|------|
| 1. much better     | 10.1 |
| 2. a little better | 19.5 |
| 3. the same        | 33.6 |
| 4. a little worse  | 8.6  |
| 5. a lot worse     | 3.4  |
| 6. don't know      | 23.5 |
| 7. no response     | 1.3  |

About 63 percent of the public believes that the MK's invest less effort in their work compared to other civil servants (like mayors, for example).

About 47 percent of the public believes that most Knesset members carry out their Knesset duties more out of personal interest than public interest. About 66 percent of the public believes that the MK's do not represent them properly. A total of 47 percent of the public believes that the present Knesset is functioning worse than its predecessor.

A check of the demographic composition of those who claim that this Knesset is functioning worse shows that they tend to belong to the upper status levels: university educated, western origin, white collar workers, high income MA'ARAKH supporters.

About 34 percent of the public feels that Menahem Savidor is functioning "the same" as Yitzhaq Berman (the previous Knesset chairman). But about 30 percent feels that Menahem Savidor is functioning better than Yitzhaq Berman.

The survey was conducted between February 2 and 9. The people interviewed, 1174, represent the adult Jewish population in Israel.

9794  
CSO: 4423/46

## BRIEFS

WITHDRAWAL OF TZOMET MEMBERS--The leadership of the Ben Gurion circle of the labor movement which, at one time, had joined the "TZOMET" movement headed by former Chief of Staff Raful decided last night to withdraw from the movement, which is becoming a political list. The leadership of the circle convened for a special session in Jerusalem at the end of which Dr Abba Gefen, one of the leaders of the circle and founders of "TZOMET" reported: "Since developments in TZOMET have brought the Ben Gurion circle to an ideological parting of the ways, the leadership of the circle has decided to withdraw from TZOMET and calls upon all members of the labor party movement who joined TZOMET to do likewise." It was reported that the members of the Ben Gurion circle found themselves facing a choice of remaining in TZOMET, headed by Raful, which is turning into a political list and is about to join the TEHIYA movement or of running on a separate list for the Knesset. The leadership of the circle decided, as we have said, to withdraw from TZOMET despite the fact that the circle was among the two basic constituents of the TZOMET movement, together with the "EN VERED" circle, as an ideological movement and not a political one. Text /Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 12 Mar '84 p 37 9794

CSO: 4423/46

REVIEW OF BOOK ON SYRIA'S ENERGY, INDUSTRY SECTORS

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 833, 14 Mar 84 pp 46-47

[Article by Mansur Karim: "Dr 'Isa Darwish's Book Reviews 'Industry and Energy in Syrian Arab Republic.'; Public Sector's March in Syria"]

[Text] After a 15-year career in the energy and industry sectors in the Syrian Arab region, Dr 'Isa Darwish decided to publish the material he had collected on these two sectors and on the public and other sectors in the USSR, Rumania and other countries. He decided to do this in a book published by the Syrian Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, under the title: "Industry and Energy in the Syrian Arab Republic." The 310-page book is divided into 10 chapters:

- Chapter 1 : Development of Industry and Energy Sectors in the Syrian Arab Region.
- Chapter 2 : Economic Strategy in the Syrian Arab Republic Through the 5-Year Plan with Emphasis on the Importance of Industry and Energy.
- Chapter 3 : Social and Economic Development Plans-Third and Fourth Year Plan.
- Chapter 4 : Official Economic Organization and Management in Syrian Arab Republic.
- Chapter 5 : Production Establishment and Subsidiaries: Relations with Economic Plan and Methods of Organization and Leadership.
- Chapter 6 : Comparative Review of Economic Organization in The USSR and Rumania.
- Chapter 7 : Comparison Between Industrial Strategy in SAR and Industrialization Strategies in Some Capitalist, Socialist and Developing Countries.
- Chapter 8 : Difficulties in the Organization of the Industry and Energy Sectors and Their Effects on Economic Development.

- Chapter 9 : Administrative and Organizational Improvement in National Economy Leadership and Its Repercussions on Industry and Energy Sectors.
- Chapter 10 : Economic Results of Administrative and Organizational Improvement of National Economy and Proposed Strategic Directions for Social and Economic Development.

#### Independence and Development--How?

It appears that the author incorporated his theoretical knowledge and his practical experience in Syria, corroborating and comparing that with his experience in other countries. He not only demonstrated the characteristics, drawbacks and advantages of such experiences, but also added these observations on the experience of the public sector in Syria and on the economic growth plans, or what is known as the 5-year plans, comparing their positive and negative aspects and proposing many recommendations and observations aimed at overcoming the negativisms and pushing forward the positivisms.

The author says: "The tasks facing developing countries in the building of the national economy and the economic hardships suffered by them and the means to overcome such hardships, as well as providing the required finances for development; solving the agricultural issue and the food problem; defining the proper relationship between the private and public sectors; controlling the effects of industrialization; setting priorities and ratios between heavy and light industries; facing the demands and effects of the technical and scientific revolution and training and educational issues; achieving the best balance between work and capital; organizing the domestic market and controlling the effects of outside economic changes on the national economy, etc., [all this] makes us wonder about the problem of choosing the best pattern of development in each of the developing countries and means to deepen their political independence which is tied in one way or another to matter of economic independence and liberation from all forms of dependency."

The author reviewed the development of the industry and energy sectors in Syria during French and Turkish colonialisms, confirming that the colonial authorities imposed all measures that would guarantee foreign capital domination over important establishments in the country.

#### 5-Year Plans

The author noted that the growth of the public sector in Syria depended on important steps, including: nationalization of foreign properties; nationalization of companies and firms owned by the local bourgeoisie; establishment of government industrial and financial establishments and public utilities, consumer cooperatives and others after the revolution; and expansion realized by public sector projects through personal financing.

The author documents several points drawn from the four 5-year plans that have been implemented in the country as of 1960 and up to 1980, that is, during the past 20 years:

- Increase in the GNP at fixed prices at an average annual growth rate of more than 5 percent.
- Increase in public and private consumption at an average annual rate of more than 6 percent.
- Increase in local savings at an average rate of more than 3.5 percent.
- Increase in employment opportunities at a rate of at least 250,000 jobs annually.
- Expansion of government services in the fields of education, health, culture and athletics, both in urban and rural areas.
- The basic role assumed by the economic public sector in the sectors of agriculture, industry and wholesale and retail trade; financial and insurance services and the fields of building and construction, import and export and liberation from foreign dependency.
- Redistribution of national income in favor of the working class and expansion of the working class base.
- Weakening of positions and influence of the alliance between feudalism and capitalism.
- Relocation of industry in the country to narrow the disparity between urban and rural areas.
- Consolidation of working-class status regarding social security laws and liberation from anxieties.
- Expansion of investment in fixed net assets, diversification toward industrialization and establishment of manufacturing and mining industries.

In subsequent chapters, the author studies the systems of organization and management and the production establishments and compares them to economic organizations in other countries.

He records some difficulties facing industrialization and development choices through the Syrian experience and underscores the following points:

- Problems of non-coordination among various competent agencies.
- Interposition of mandatory powers of supervisory agencies.
- Great number of supervisory bodies that oversee production units.
- Difficulties and faults in economic legislation and managements.
- Low yield of some investments.

-Employment problems and their relationship to the imbalance between investment rates among national economic branches and job training issues.

-Deficit in balance of payment and trade.

Therefore, he proposes the following solution:

-Careful study of future industrial projects.

-Implementation of approved employment and production projects as soon as possible.

-Utilization of idle factory capacity.

-Application of industrial costs system in every public sector factory to allow said factories to employ clear incentive principles.

-Dealing with the labor turnover phenomenon through adoption of a scientific formula to balance wages and prices at the national economy level.

The author ends his book by presenting proposals related to the strategic directions of economic and social development:

-Secure self-sufficiency in local production.

-Develop and train human resources technically, scientifically and culturally.

-Advance and further production methods and organizations.

-Achieve the desired balance in production growth between local demands of goods and services and the expansion of exports to foreign markets.

-Develop the structural make-up of agricultural, industrial and service production.

-Continue the process of achieving equitable distribution of national income.

-Work toward the realization of comprehensive planning and integration of its various components.

-Pay attention to managerial development and scientific and vocational training of middle and high-level cadres in conformity with the requirements of the technological revolution, and develop and expand production.

-Raise the efficiency of administrative organization in the fields of economic production and public services.

He supports these with other proposals related to the energy and manufacturing industries sectors.

This is a quick synopsis of the book's contents. The author could have picked a more appropriate title for his book such as "Industry and Energy Within the Public Sector in the Syrian Arab Republic," or "The Public Sector in the Syrian Arab Republic and the Role of Industry and Energy in It."

## AFGHANISTAN

### SOVIET OFFENSIVE ON AFGHAN VALLEY REPORTED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 6 Mar 84 p 14

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Mon. — Soviet troops have launched a major offensive against the strategic Panjsher Valley, one of the main strongholds of Afghanistan's Muslim fighters, a leading resistance group in Peshawar said today.

Quoting a letter from Panjsher commander Ahmad Shah Masood, a spokesman for his Jamiat-I-Islami group said that Soviet commando troops landed from 120 MI-8 transport helicopters at Najrab Village on Feb. 28.

The Soviet Union also sent 300 light tanks to the village, which controls the main supply route into the Panjsher, he said in a telephone call from Peshawar.

The Panjsher Valley north of Kabul overlooks the main highway between the Afghan capital and the Soviet Union.

"This attack is the introduction to a big attack on the Panjsher," spokesman Abdul Rahim quoted Masood as saying in his letter, dated March 2. It arrived in Peshawar last night.

Masood, 30, an engineering school dropout, became a resistance folk hero by fighting off six massive Soviet offensives against the Panjsher, which juts into the Hindu Kush mountain range just 90km (60 miles) north of Kabul.

He accepted a controversial six-month truce offered by the Soviet Union early last year but refused to renew it in the autumn.

Masood, who used the truce to re-

build his forces and help co-ordinate other resistance groups in the north, said in a letter that arrived in Peshawar last month he expected an attack around April 20.

His latest letter, written on a scrap of paper, said residents of the valley were now preparing for a sustained attack.

"The process of vacating families from the Panjsher Valley is going on at high speed," Masood said. He appealed to the Jamiat headquarters in Peshawar for shoes, clothing and money to help the refugees.

He did not say how many Soviet troops were in Najrab, a tiny village south of the Panjsher. Each of the 120 MI-8 helicopters he mentioned can carry 32 soldiers.

The Soviet army, which intervened in Kabul in 1979 to prop up a faltering Communist Government, sent thousands of troops into the Panjsher in previous campaigns. It has about 105,000 soldiers in Afghanistan.

Masood said he expected the Soviet Union to attack next in the Andarab Valley, a northern offshoot of the Panjsher which acts as the stronghold's second main supply route.

The mouth of the Panjsher Valley has been closed to the Muslim fighters by a recently-reinforced Soviet garrison at Anawa, while passes at the far north-eastern end are blocked by snow and a Government military post.

"The Soviets want to attack from the front and from all sides of the Panjsher," Masood said.

CSO: 4600/488

AFGHANISTAN

AFGHAN FIGHTERS REPORTEDLY ATTACK SOVIET EMBASSY

Penang THE STAR in English 1 Mar 84 p 14

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Wed. — Afghan resistance fighters staged co-ordinated attacks on the Soviet embassy and Afghan government buildings in Kabul to mark the fourth anniversary of city-wide protests against Soviet intervention, western diplomats said yesterday.

The fighters' rocket and mortar fire on the embassy and surrounding tanks last week drew a barrage of rocket fire from the building's Soviet defenders, they quoted their envoys in Kabul as saying.

One unconfirmed report said a fire broke out in the heavily-guarded embassy and raged for over half an hour, they added.

The embassy was only one of several targets in the attack to mark the demonstrations of Feb. 21, 1980 when shops closed and people clambered on roofs to shout "Allah-o-Akbar" (God is great) in defiance of recently-arrived Soviet troops.

The resistance fighters, firing from a hill overlooking south-west Kabul, inflicted slight damage on the military headquarters of the Soviet and Afghan government forces at Dar ul Aman Palace and destroyed four police guard posts.

The diplomats also reported bloody fighting between rival communist factions in the Afghan army's 17th division based in the western city of Herat.

They said more than 50 military men, including the division's chief of staff, were injured and possibly as many killed in the two-day skirmish.

CSO: 4600/489

## SOVIET TROOPS BUILDUP REPORTED IN KEY REGIONS

Penang THE STAR in English 8 Mar 84 p 17

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Wed. — The Soviet Union has begun building up its troops in three key regions in Afghanistan, possibly in preparation for a spring offensive, western diplomats said here yesterday.

Red army troops and tanks gathered around Gulbahar, a village in the Shomali Valley near the mouth of the strategic Panjsher Valley, they said, quoting reports from their embassies in Kabul.

More Soviet troops and armour have arrived in Gardez, an eastern Afghan garrison town near rebel infiltration routes from Pakistan and at Kandahar airport in the south, they said.

They added that security forces in Kabul had begun seizing boys aged 15 and 16 for conscription into the dwindling army. The legal draft age is 19.

The diplomats could not confirm resistance reports that Soviet troops had attacked the Panjsher's main supply route at the start of their seventh offensive against the valley, a stronghold of the Muslim resistance.

But they said an attack was widely expected. Some residents were being evacuated and Panjsheri in Kabul had received letters from relatives asking for extra shoes and blankets to prepare for an attack.

Panjsher resistance commander Ahmad Shah Masood said in a letter which

arrived in Peshawar on Sunday night that an offensive had started on Feb. 28 with an attack by 300 Soviet tanks and about 120 helicopters on the valley's southern supply route.

The letter, published here by his Jamiat-i-Islami party, said he expected more attacks from other directions soon.

The Panjsher Valley, which overlooks the main highway between Kabul and the Soviet Union, had been quiet since early last year, when Mr Masood accepted a Soviet offer of a six-month truce.

Gulbahar is near the village of Najrab, where Mr Masood said the attack started. But diplomats could not say whether troops massed there had been used in the attack or were to be sent to reinforce the Soviet garrison at Anawa at the mouth of the valley.

The build-up in Gardez, capital of Paktia province, began in mid-February, the diplomats said, and appeared to be aimed at blocking resistance fighters from returning with new supplies to Afghanistan.

Soviet and Afghan forces launched a major offensive in Paktia and its provinces bordering Pakistan last April but suffered an embarrassing setback when Kabul's elite 38th Commando Brigade was wiped out near Urgun.

CSO: 4600/490

ANOTHER DRAFT DODGER'S LOOPHOLE CLOSED BY AUTHORITIES

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 10 Mar 84 p 13

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Fri.—Afghanistan has closed another draft dodger's loophole, saying Afghan students can go abroad to study only after completing military service.

State-run Radio Kabul, monitored in Islamabad, announced the decision last night along with several other steps to shore up the country's dwindling army.

Up to 20,000 Afghan students are believed to have gone to the Soviet Union since the Kremlin sent troops into Afghanistan in 1979.

While Moscow sees this as a way to build loyal Communist cadres in Afghanistan, many students consider study abroad as a ploy to avoid being drafted to fight the Muslim resistance, according to Afghan exiles in Pakistan.

Many non-Communist families consider a Soviet university the safest place for their draft-age sons and are eager to send them regardless of their political persuasions, exiles say.

Kabul has recently stepped up its conscription drive with television advertisements, pay bonuses and outright coercion to fill the army's ranks, which Western diplomats say have shrunk to half their pre-1978 strength of 80,000.

The Government, in another move to fill the army ranks, has also been pressing Communist Party members to sign up despite their entitlement to deferment, the diplomats said.

They said this appeared to suggest Kabul was also not satisfied with the loyalty of recent recruits and wanted more politically reliable men in the army.

The radio referred to a possible requirement for military service before higher education in Afghanistan itself, but it did not elaborate.

CSO: 4600/491

## INDIA

### GANDHI MEETS WITH AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR IN NEW DELHI

#### Content of Talks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 26. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is in touch with world leaders with regard to political and economic issues which were discussed at the summit-level meeting held in New York in September last year during the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Mrs. Gandhi conveyed this to the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Fred Sinowatz, during their meeting here this evening. Dr Sinowatz referred to Austria's participation in the informal summit-level discussions held at the instance of Mrs Gandhi last September and wanted to know whether another round of such consultations was planned.

During their 90-minute meeting, Mrs. Gandhi and Dr. Sinowatz reviewed the progress relating to the convening of an international conference on money and finance in the context of the experts' meeting held in New Delhi at the suggestions of the Prime Minister as chairperson of the non-aligned movement.

#### Lebanese Issue

The two leaders reviewed the situation in their regions and exchanged views on the Lebanese issue and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Bilateral relations were also reviewed at the talks between full delegations. The Indian delegation was led by Dr. J. S. Teja, additional secretary in the external affairs ministry.

The issue of disarmament which was covered during the talks between Mrs. Gandhi and Dr. Sinowatz figured prominently in the speeches by the two leaders at a banquet hosted by the Prime Minister.

The two leaders expressed their serious concern over the "senseless nuclear arms race" and resolved that neutral and non-aligned countries must exert moral pressure on the superpowers to resume talks on disarmament.

Mrs. Gandhi said that extreme mistrust which infused the international situation precluded any substantial and meaningful negotiations.

The Prime Minister said: "We think similarly on disarmament and detente, on strategies of international development and global negotiations."

She said everything possible should be done to end the senseless nuclear arms race. This was the first item on the international agenda.

The Austrian Chancellor, sharing Mrs. Gandhi's concern for world peace, said India and Austria, whose role in the international scene was not based on power politics, could bring moral power to bear and had the obligation to do, especially at times when the international climate was so tense as now.

Dr. Sinowatz said: "This is a great task for the neutral and the non-aligned countries, and for this reason Austria has always put much importance on the dialogue with the non-aligned countries."

Mrs. Gandhi also dwelt on the problems of development in the case of India, she said, nine-tenths of the resources for development came from the Indian people, but the remaining one-tenth part was crucial because that represented the inflow of much-needed advanced technology. If this proportion should decline, India's fight against backwardness would be more difficult.

#### Pledges Support

"That is why we urge the IDA and other soft-lending institutions to maintain the level of their assistance. We appreciate Austria's readiness to increase the size of IDA and to promote more constructive North-South co-operation," Mrs. Gandhi said.

Dr. Sinowatz praised India's advances in the economic and scientific fields and pledged Austria's full political and economic support.

Mr. Gandhi told Dr. Sinowatz that "by choosing India as the first country outside Europe for your state visit, you are affirming the affinity between the Alps and the Himalayas."

Earlier, talking to reporters, Dr. Sinowatz said the security situation in Europe had deteriorated and that the policy of detente was over. It was imperative that new ways of relaxing tensions between the East and West were found.

G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 26. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Fred Sinowatz, spoke gloomily of the worsening security environment in Europe in the wake of the missile controversy, during a detailed discussion with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the international situation.

The deterioration of East-West relations, especially the continuing discord between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, was endangering detente in Europe besides intensifying international tensions.

The time had come, Dr. Sinowatz stressed when new ways had to be found for improving East-West relations. The neutral and non-aligned nations had a crucial role to play in exerting the moral pressure of mankind on the big powers to make them move away from the perilous path of nuclear confrontation and work together to defuse international tensions.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was no less impassioned in her advocacy of a joint effort by both the industrialised and developing countries in creating a more equitable international order free from threats of intimidation and exploitation. She told Dr. Sinowatz that the current international economic crisis was no less dangerous than an unbridled arms race.

Mrs. Gandhi satisfied: At the banquet she hosted in honour of the Austrian Chancellor tonight, Mrs. Gandhi expressed her satisfaction over the resumption of the talks in Vienna on Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction and the convening of the conference on disarmament in Stockholm, despite the continued deadlock over the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. She agreed with Dr. Sinowatz's view that the most important task facing the world community today was how to initiate and sustain confidence-building measures, till the two superpowers feel reassured enough to engage in a direct dialogue to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Prime Minister was happy that India and Austria "think similarly in disarmament and detente, on strategies of international development and global negotiations." The "extreme mistrust which infuses the international situation precludes any substantial and meaningful negotiations". She stressed that "we should do whatever is possible to end the senseless nuclear arms race".

These were lofty sentiments that were eloquently expressed making a profound impact on the Austrian Chancellor who spoke in glowing terms about India's relentless crusade for peace and justice. In this nuclear age, he said, no country whether it was a big or small power could settle any problem by resort to force. A genuine and frank dialogue was the only alternative now open to mankind for finding a lasting solution to any conflict.

Austria determined: It is quite evident from the composition of the high-level delegation accompanying Dr. Sinowatz that Austria is all set to make a determined bid to expand its economic links with India by offering both equipment and technology for the country's development in several spheres. The Austrian industry looks upon India as a promising market for its high technology products.

The Trade and Industry Minister of Austria, Dr. Erich Schmidt, who is accompanying the Chancellor, is having parallel talks with the Indian Ministers concerned to explore the prospects and identity the areas for increased collaboration. The Chancellor will also be discussing with Defense Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman, the possibilities for defence cooperation, which was already considered when he went to Vienna last year for this purpose.

The Austrian Government is prepared to offer the necessary credits to India for import of equipment and technology, transfers in areas where the Austrian industry has a well established reputation for both quality and competitive prices. It can offer India the latest technology for the manufacture of steel, certain categories of machinery, industrial furnaces, turbines, railways equipment, plastics, chemicals and abrasives.

Apart from his courtesy calls on the President, the Vice-President and official talks with the Prime Minister and her senior cabinet colleagues, Dr. Sinowatz's engagements include a meeting with Mother Teresa, sight-seeing trips to Agra and Khajuraho, and a visit to Allahabad to see an Indian engineering firm using Austrian technology and equipment.

PTI reports:

Dr. Sinowatz will personally hand over a gift of nearly one tonne of medicines to Mother Teresa.

CSO: 4600/1729

## ANALYST DISCUSSES GANDHI MIDDLE EAST VISIT PLANS

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 29.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will be visiting Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria in early April, in her capacity as chairperson of the non-aligned movement, for consultations with the leaders of these countries on West Asian problems, including the Iran-Iraq war and the crisis in Lebanon.

At the bilateral level, the Presidents of all these four countries have been presenting her to visit them and sent out special emissaries with fresh invitations.

But what has really made her to agree to visit these countries in the midst of Parliament session is to demonstrate her grave concern over the intensification of the Iraq-Iran war, the failure of the talks between the Lebanese leaders and continued dissensions within the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The visit to Egypt has great significance in the sense that the era of Indian aloofness towards it after the Camp David agreements is now over and the two countries are getting back to the cordial relationship that prevailed in Nasser's time. The Egyptian President, Mr. Mubarak, has worked assiduously to revive the old contacts which got strained during Sadat's regime.

**Bilateral angle:** The visit to Libya has a bilateral angle in the sense that India has vast economic interests there. The Libyan President, Col. Qadhafi has sent his wife recently

to India with a personal message urging Mrs. Gandhi to visit Libya soon. As chairperson of the non-aligned movement, Mrs. Gandhi is quite keen that the mercurial Libyan leader should be persuaded to play a helpful role in Arab politics by abandoning his extremist and often provocative postures.

The Tunisian President, Mr. Bourgiba, had also sent his wife to Delhi last year with a fresh invitation to Mrs. Gandhi to visit his country. As the Arab League is located in Tunis and the PLO leader, Mr. Arafat, is also staying there, she will be able to have wider discussions during this visit to Tunisia with a cross-section of Arab opinion there.

The Algerian President, Mr. Chadli, who is an influential figure in Arab politics, has been equally keen that she should visit his country and sent a special emissary only last week with a personal message from him.

The only time the Prime Minister could pay these visits to these four Arab countries was during the first half of April, since the President, Mr. Zail Singh, will be leaving on April 21 on a two-week trip to South America which will take him round the world with halts in Geneva and Orlando in Miami on his onward journey to Mexico and to Los Angles, Honolulu, Osaka and Hong Kong on the return journey of Argentina.

The President would be returning only on May 4 just in time for the Japanese Prime Minister's visit. So the Prime Minister decided to complete her trip to these Arab countries before the President's departure.

CSO: 4600/1734

**FINANCE MINISTER DEFENDS POSITION ON IMF LOAN**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] CALCUTTA, March 25 (UNI). The Union Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee today defended the government's decision not to draw the balance of the IMF loan saying it was not a "political gimmick" but was based on deliberate policies pursued by the government to strengthen the country's economic position.

Addressing the annual general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Mukherjee said the economic picture was not as bleak as was being projected.

After two successive droughts, food-grains production in 1983-84 was expected to exceed the target of 142 million tonnes, an increase of over 12 per cent over the previous year's record.

Mr. Mukherjee said the year 1983, 84 witnessed a modest growth in the GNP despite various constraints faced in the previous years.

Mr. Mukherjee said it was a matter of great satisfaction that the balance of payments situation showed a marked improvement because of soundness of the government's adjustment policy during the sixth five-year plan.

**Lower Trade Gap**

He said the balance of payments situation in the country which had eased in 1982-83 showed further improvement in 1983-84. The trade gap, which was Rs. 5,802 crores in 1981-82 and declined to Rs. 5,526 crores in 1982-83, was expected to fall further to about Rs. 5,000 crores or even lower in 1983-84.

Along with this, Mr. Mukherjee said the country's foreign exchange reserves inclusive of IMF drawings increased from Rs. 4,265 crores at the beginning of 1983-84 to more than Rs. 5,000 crores by the end of February this year.

Mr. Mukherjee said the annual rate of inflation on March 10 had come down to about 9 per cent and hoped that it would remain within single digit at the end of the current financial year.

He said although the industrial growth had been somewhat slow definite improvement was marked in the course of the year. The industrial production during the first eight months of 1983-84 had shown an increase of 4.2 per cent over the average in the corresponding period of 1982-83.

CSO: 4600/1725

## HOME MINISTRY'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1983-1984 RELEASED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 84 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, March 22 (UNI): The general law and order situation in the country remained under control, except in a few areas, according to the Union home ministry's annual report for 1983-84.

The communal situation also remained peaceful, except for clashes in Hyderabad, the report says.

On Punjab, the report says the situation remains vitiated because of the activities of some extremist elements. It mentions briefly the sequence of efforts made towards reaching a settlement with the agitating Akali leaders, the promulgation of President's rule, reconvening of the tripartite talks on February 14 and the impasse caused by the simultaneous eruption of violence in the state.

The report reiterates the government's readiness for a settlement of the problem through negotiations.

On the foreigners issue in Assam, the report restates the government's willingness for talks with the All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, (AAGSP). It points out that such

negotiations would be meaningful only if the other concerned interests were associated with the talks.

The report says that barring a few stray incidents of bomb explosions and a slight increase in the extremist activity, the law and order situation in Assam has shown a perceptible improvement after the Saikia government assumed office on February 27, 1983.

The report says a return to complete normalcy was hindered by the resumption of agitation by the AASU and AAGSP from August, 1983.

The report lists measures for increased vigilance on the Indo-Bangladesh border to prevent illegal entry. These include the erection of a barbed wire fence and the construction of a jeep-worthy road along the border.

The report briefly mentions counter insurgency operations in Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura. In Manipur, top ranking extremist leaders had either surrendered or been captured. A scheme costing Rs 17 crores had been drawn up to generate employment in Manipur, it says.

CSO: 4600/1719

DELHI REPORTED RELUCTANT TO RECEIVE IMELDA MARCOS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 84 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, March 22: India's reluctance to be the first country to receive the Philippine's First Lady, Mrs Imelda Marcos, after the assassination in August of the Filipino opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, is likely to be the reason for the postponement of her visit.

Mrs Marcos was to have arrived here on March 18 for a four-day visit. But five days before her scheduled arrival it was announced that the visit was postponed. The ostensible reason given by the external affairs ministry was that Mrs Marcos had decided to put off the trip in view of the May elections in her country.

However, it was known months in advance that the elections were due in May. There have also been no reports to suggest that the ruling party, the KLP, had been sufficiently threatened in the last few weeks to warrant a sudden postponement.

Though Mrs Marcos holds several public offices, including that of minister for human settlements and governor of Metro Manila, her visit was being announced as that of the wife of President Ferdinand Marcos. It was wellknown that the trip was aimed at rehabilitating the image of the Marcos regime.

Meanwhile, the People's Union for Civil Liberties and other human rights groups today demonstrated before the Philippine's embassy here demanding the cancellation of Mrs Marcos's visit.

CSO: 4600/1719

## **INDIA**

### **DEVELOPMENTS, EXPECTATIONS IN INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

**Venkataraman in Defense Debate**

**Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Mar 84 pp 1, 9**

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 23.--The Defense Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, told the Lok Sabha today that India could not accept Pakistan's declaration that it had no "war-like intentions" against this country. "I would like to state, categorically and with full responsibility, that I cannot accept their word", he told a cheering House.

Past history, as well as the conduct and performance of that country's rulers, showed "that whenever they got sophisticated arms, they always tried them against us", Mr Venkataraman asserted.

He was replying to an eight-hour debate, spread over three days on his Ministry's budgetary demands and specifically to the point made by Mr Biju Patnaik earlier this week, and repeated today, that India, being the bigger country, would lose nothing by taking the Pakistani rulers at their word.

Mr Venkataraman added that if Pakistan wanted to check the present war psychosis, all it had to do was stop acquiring excessive arms. On the contrary, the country was acquiring more and more arms, and of increasing sophistication, with further shipments expected almost every month later this year.

Mr Patnaik, who visited Pakistan last week and held extensive talks with President Zia and others, had mentioned a suggestion by them that India could send an inspecting team to their installations, and dispositions and manoeuvres, and verify their intentions.

Mr Venkataraman asked: "How am I to be sure that this is not a game to buy time?"

The Defense Minister began his reference to Pakistan by noting that the security situation in India's immediate neighbourhood had been changing rapidly to this country's detriment, with Pakistan becoming part of the U.S. strategic consensus and receiving arms and equipment far in excess of its legitimate defence requirements.

He listed some of that country's latest "acquisitions": 400 M-48 A5 tanks, 80 T-59 tanks, 400 armed personnel carriers, about 100 towed 155-mm guns, an equal number of self-propelled 155-mm guns ("which are considered the last word in artillery") and some 2,000 tow missiles, for its Army; 40 F-16 aircraft; 55 A5s, 201 F-6s, 300 mirages and medium-range air-to-air missiles and Sparrow missiles for its Air Force; and Harpoon missiles, among other items, for its Navy.

"Such a large inventory of weapon systems in our neighbourhood cannot but cause alarm to India", he noted.

Mr Venkataraman added that, as Defence Minister, he was concerned with the country's being fully prepared to meet any eventuality. "This Government will be guilty of gross negligence and dereliction of duty if it did not take into account the situation surrounding India and take adequate counter measures", he said.

India had made it clear that it wanted good neighbourly relations with Pakistan, but at the same time, it was absolutely necessary for this country to make proper precautions to meet the threat presented by Pakistan's acquisition of excessive arms. "There is no doubt that we have to keep our preparedness at the peak".

#### Border Deployments

The Defence Minister drew attention also to the fact that the deployment of Pakistan's forces on India's borders was three times the deployment on its other borders. "If the objective is to fight others, why this concentration of troops and equipment on our borders?"

He noted also that Pakistan did conduct a military exercise recently, which was bigger than ever before. "Do you want us to take that as an expression of goodwill?" he added: "I have no option except to go and find matching equipment"

He clarified that in so doing, the effort was not to match weapon for weapon, but system for system. "I can say with confidence that we are matching their systems with our systems".

Mr Venkataraman then listed what India had by way of arms--Vyjayant tanks, the T72 tanks, 105-mm guns, "the Indian field gun mark II, which is a match for any gun produced by anybody", night-tight capacity as well as electronic digital equipment fitted into the tanks, landing craft, acquisition of submarines and mine-sweepers, induction of the fixed-wing Sea Harrier aircraft into the Vikrant to enhance the aircraft carrier's capability, anti-submarine fighter helicopters, a number of Jaguar aircraft, a whole range of MIGs as well as acquisition of the advanced version of that aircraft ("superior to the F-16 and the Mirage").

He added amid cheers that, right now, India did have the edge, militarily over Pakistan.

He began his reply by expressing his gratitude to the House for its unanimous view that the country's defense required to be strengthened to meet any threat. He then disposed of the "myth" that India's defence expenditure was unaffordably high.

### Rasgotra Pakistan Visit Plans

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Mar 84 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 24.

Despite the current strains in Indo-Pakistani relations, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, intends to go to Islamabad in May to keep up the no-war dialogue for what it is worth, if only to leave the door open for substantive discussions at a politically opportune moment later on for halting the ruinous arms race in the sub-continent.

The primary purpose of his visit is not merely to restate the known positions on the two drafts for a more comprehensive friendship treaty and a limited non-aggression pact, but explore the possibilities of disengaging from the sort of cross-talk that is driving India and Pakistan inexorably step by step towards a needless confrontation.

As a seasoned diplomat, who does not overstate his case, Mr. Rasgotra will utilise the opportunity to make it quite evident to those who matter in Islamabad — including General Zia-Ul-Haq and his Foreign Minister Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan that it would be a risky gamble on their part to attempt to browbeat India by resorting to war-like postures or provocative military moves beyond the limits of its tolerance. He will also tell them in no uncertain terms that by amassing arms well beyond its legitimate requirements, Pakistan cannot hope to exert pressures on a big country like India which is quite capable of coping with such threats with supreme confidence.

The recent two-day tete-a-tete between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan in Udaipur went off well in the sense that Mr. Niaz Naik was left in no doubt whatsoever about the consequences of any provocation, while assuring him, that India was keen on better relations with Pakistan in mutual interest. The talks in Islamabad in May will give Mr. Rasgotra an opportunity to develop this theme

further and get the message across personally to those at the helm of affairs in Pakistan.

It is true that General Zia cannot afford to risk a showdown with India at a time when he is trying hard to consolidate his position in Pakistan. But history is replete with examples of how hard-pressed military dictators embark deliberately on hazardous gambles to deflect discontent at home.

**Watching the big changes:** So India is not deriving any vicarious satisfaction from General Zia's mounting difficulties within Pakistan. It is closely watching the consequences of the big changes he has made in the top military commands by promoting and installing his close associates in pivotal positions and easing out others who no longer enjoy his complete confidence in the wake of the recent abortive bid by a section of the Army to overthrow him.

**Dangerous hierarchy:** A monolithic military hierarchy owing unquestioning allegiance to one single individual in a dictatorship is much more dangerous than a collection of loyal, but temperamentally different types of Generals supporting and sharing power with the top man in their common interest. The whole chain of command of the Pakistan Army, from the Chiefs of Staff to Corps and Divisional Commanders, is now controlled by General Zia's hand-picked men who are supposed to be totally loyal to him.

The present Pakistani Ambassador to India, Mr. Riaz Piracha, a former Foreign Secretary, who has been working hard to create a better atmosphere, will be leaving soon on transfer to The Hague for compelling personal reasons after completing less than two years of his assignment, in Delhi. He will be succeeded by Mr. Humayun Khan, an Additional Secretary in the Foreign Ministry in Islamabad, dealing with policy planning besides looking after Afghanistan.

### Mutual Distrust Noted

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 25.—The Foreign Secretary, Mr M. K. Rasgotra, will visit Pakistan on May 12 to hold talks on the normalization of ties between

the two countries. So one was told at the end of his informal discussion with his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Niaz Naik in Udaipur early this month.

This would suggest that the two sides have agreed on the basics so as to be able to take up the major issues which have bedevilled bilateral relations ever since partition. Yet, nothing could be farther from the truth. The two are poles apart politically. Their appreciation of the issues facing them bilaterally, regionally and internationally are vastly dissimilar. Their perceptions of things happening, say for instance in Afghanistan, are at variance even when they pretend they are agreed on long-term objectives. Their interests, too, as time has shown, do not coincide.

They are both non-aligned and still one hears rumours that Pakistan has secretly agreed to help the USA in any future military adventure involving it in the region. This may or may not be true. But, the arguments advanced in favour of the possibility of it being true are presented forcefully and at all levels of leadership here.

The Pakistanis, equally forcefully, argue that India is building up an unprecedented military arsenal. The Pakistani media are full of anti-Indian propaganda on this score, the Ustinov visit having given the criticism an even sharper edge. If the Indian view is that Pakistan is acquiring sophisticated weapon systems only with this country in view the Pakistanis say that they are acquiring arms only for self-defence.

The second part of the Pakistani argument is why should India, a much larger country, with substantial industrial and military bases, be afraid of Pakistan? Why should India be arming itself so massively?

#### Truth Ignored

So arguments continue ignoring the basic truth that the two countries have yet to learn to trust each other. Their distrust of each other and the suspicions harboured about the intentions of one towards the other are deep-rooted.

True, the two have set up a joint commission which has even met a few times and the sub-commissions which at least on paper have performed rather well. But that, according to observers, is not the kind of initiative that will ultimately help resolve bilateral problems. If the two countries are to have normal friendly relations they will have to come to grips with the Kashmir problem. The step-by-step approach envisaged at Simla has not worked. Nor will it, as long as the two countries, Pakistan particularly, do not wake up to the reality of the situation.

It is by now fairly well known to Pakistan that India is not going to part with Kashmir at any cost. Nor have efforts to start insurgency within that State made any headway. Nor will it ever. In the circumstances, it would be in the interest of India-Pakistan relations if the two sides were to find a modus vivendi in Kashmir, one that satisfied both without reopening the wounds of partition, and this can be done only at the highest political

level. No Foreign Secretary, however powerful he may be, can take a decision about that, it is pointed out by these observers.

It has been said that when the Foreign Secretaries meet in Islamabad in May they will take up for consideration the Pakistani proposals for a non-aggression pact and the Indian proposal for a treaty of peace and friendship. It should be apparent to the most naive observer that unless the Kashmir issue is got out of the way no treaty whatever its sanctity will ever have any meaning.

The Indians know that a non-aggression or a no-war pact will not be worth the paper it is written on unless Pakistan agrees not to raise the Kashmir issue except bilaterally. In the Indian view, the treaty of peace and friendship serves the purpose of a no-war pact with the difference that it binds Pakistan to a bilateral solution of all problems, including Kashmir. For Pakistani purposes, the treaty would be useless if it meant Pakistan foreclosing the option to raise the Kashmir issue at forums other than strictly the bilateral ones.

#### Meaningless Polemics

So when the Foreign Secretaries begin to consider the two documents, which have been before them for more than two years now, they will once again find themselves bogged down in meaningless polemics. It is quite possible that they may not directly refer to the Kashmir issue but, to be sure, the issue will be looming large in the minds of the two countries. In private talks officials on both sides have often confided that Kashmir is the principal issue and yet no effort has been made to get over it.

The upshot of it all will be talk and more talk with a good deal of belligerency thrown in. Many Pakistani generals are on record as having said that they expect an Indian invasion. Most Pakistani politicians, barring a few, hold fast to the view that India is not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan as an independent entity. On this side of the border, Mr Rajiv Gandhi even offers dates for a possible Pakistani attack and goes on to identify the areas where such an attack might take place.

The only answer to the problem would, according to observers, seem to be a bold political initiative by both countries.

#### Birla Institute Report

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 27 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, March 26 (PTI): Planners cannot afford to ignore the danger posed to India by Pakistan going nuclear or the possibility of a conventional attack by Pakistan with the powerful weapons it has been

mands.

The study calls for thorough preparations on the part of all elements concerned with national security to discourage attacks on the country. It also urges additional defence efforts along the vulnerable northern and north eastern borders.

India has to be prepared to repel attacks on our northern and north eastern borders too, the study warns.

It points out that whenever Pakistan has received arms and political support from external powers its rulers have felt they can mount a surprise attack and seize Indian territory and then call on their great power supporters to bring about a cease-fire, favourable to them.

The 1965 and 1971 wars, the study says, came about only because external powers for their own geo-strategic reasons, in-

ducted a massive amount of arms into Pakistan and at least impliedly assured the latter of their political support.

It says the situation now is in many respects far more serious than it was in 1965 or in 1971. The US has a powerful interest in ensuring that Pakistan is militarily strong and has a government that can be depended upon to carry out policies acceptable to the US.

The study notes that in addition to giving Pakistan the most effective fighter-bomber aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, as well as a variety of air missiles, the US has tacitly allowed Pakistan to continue with its nuclear programme.

The nuclear weapons now being acquired by Pakistan can only be used to attack India, the study adds.

CSO: 4600/1721

## DEFENSE POLICY NEEDS FOREIGN POLICY BACKING

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

THE defence and foreign affairs debates in Parliament used to be occasions for high rhetoric, when members vied with one another in talking eloquently of the country's security perceptions and counting the blessings of its policy pursuits for the preservation of peace and stability in the sub-continent. But the accent now is on competing fiercely in cautioning the nation about the worsening security environment, the diabolical designs of the big powers and the narrowing options in averting the dangers of a disastrous conflict in the region.

There is little scope in an atmosphere of great euphoria or needless despondency for any reasoned debate on the harsh realities of national defence and foreign policy postulates. One of the sad features of Indian democracy is that the leadership does not encourage even well-meaning criticism of governmental policies, let alone take active steps to promote specialisation on sensitive issues, since it tends to imagine that those at the helm of the country's affairs should be deemed to be the repositories of all wisdom on the respective subjects.

**Unreality**

The result is that there is an underlying element of unreality in whatever is said from either side during these debates, whether it is the excessively optimistic view taken by the ruling party members about the country's capability to cope with any eventuality, or the unduly pessimistic note that is repeatedly struck by the Opposition about the Government's incapacity to comprehend the full dimensions of the many-faceted internal and external threats.

The rapid decline in the calibre of representation and the consequent fall in the quality of debates have contributed to the waning public interest in these rituals, so much so, that even the better educated sections of the people are not adequately informed about the precise nature of the threats to security and the steps being taken by the

Government to deal with them. When there is no proper comprehension of such basic issues, the unwary public is often perplexed by the talk of another war, while there is no obvious portent of a new crisis atmosphere building up in and around the sub-continent.

The ruling party members feel reassured that they have done what is expected of them by simply joining the chorus of protest against the big power machinations, while the Opposition finds itself in the unenviable position of wanting to be critical of the Government's threat perceptions and yet afraid of exposing itself to the charge of being anti-national, or not being patriotic enough in doubting the official assertions.

**Absence of cohesion**

In more advanced societies, whether it is in the Western or the communist world, the average politician is much more knowledgeable about defence or foreign policy problems than in the newly independent nations where there is little scope for specialisation. The general run of politicians, civil servants, businessmen and those in the armed forces have had the same sort of education, served together as conscripts or professional soldiers whether it is in war time or peace time, and shared many ideas and thoughts on the self-interests of their nations.

But among the newly independent societies of the Third World, there is no such tradition of ideological professional or social affinity to give their policies distinct national identities. It is the marked absence of this intellectual cohesion cutting across class barriers that contributes to a lot of confusion in assessing and articulating the threat perceptions or in reappraising policies and exercising the options open in different situations.

One of the frequent accusations made against India by foreign critics is that as a big country it has earned the dubious reputation of being a difficult neighbour, while in fact it bends backwards at times to placate some of the regional nations if only to discourage them

from turning to big powers for support under the mistaken notion of insulating themselves from Indian dominance. It is necessary to maintain a credible distinction, in the projection of India's defence and foreign policies, between pursuing expansionist or hegemonic designs and facing the many regional responsibilities imposed by the country's history, geography, population and resources.

A militarily strong India need not necessarily be an aggressive India, since it can serve the cause of peace better by asserting its predominant position as the most important country between the Suez and Singapore which is destined to rank eventually with the United States, the Soviet Union and China as one of the four leading powers of the world.

#### Stabilising factor

The concept of a strong India serving as a stabilising factor in the preservation of peace in South Asia is in no way inconsistent with its role as a leading non-aligned nation. It has to maintain a large enough military establishment to meet any threat from China across the Himalayas, cope with the dangers of another attack by Pakistan and develop adequate deterrent capacity against intervention by any foreign power from the Indian ocean.

The need for a qualitative and quantitative military superiority in the area has to be matched by internal political and economic stability with a well developed industrial base for progressive self-reliance in defence. It is for this reason that many well-placed observers have been drawing attention to the importance of settling the Punjab and Assam problems quickly to prevent the erosion of the country's internal security through violent agitations and divisive emotions.

The Government has been unwittingly giving the impression that India is caught up in a ruinous arms race with Pakistan. In his anxiety to reassure the people that India is strong enough to cope with any conceivable threat in the region, the Defence Minister has been indulging in a lot of brave talk about military preparedness and increasing self-reliance in defence. But he has not been drawing a clearer distinction between periodic modernisation which is more or less a continual process for improving the mobility and fire-power of the armed forces and the augmentation of defence capability with the acquisition of many sophisticated weapon systems.

It is possible to go through the two phases side by side without engaging in an arms race to the detriment of the country's development, if a proper balance is kept up in the maintenance of India's defence posture and the conduct of its foreign policy with the right correlation.

#### Relentless rivalries

One basic factor that has to be borne in mind in developing a correct perspective is that this is not an era of either ideological or religious crusades, but of running conflicts triggered by relentless rivalries and clashes of interest in different regions. If ideology was the main criterion, the U.S. and the Soviet Union would have got embroiled long ago in a nuclear showdown with disastrous consequences. Or if Islamic fundamentalism was a unifying force, as it was supposed to be in some situations, there was no justification for the Iraq-Iran war. The Sino-Soviet

rift was an eloquent example of how even communism failed to unite countries in the face of their historical strains, and religion has proved to be an even less of a unifying influence in times of ethnic or national conflicts.

So the Pakistani fixation should not warp the perceptions of Indian policy-makers into imagining and even proceeding on the assumption that, in the event of another war between the two sub-continental neighbours, the Islamic countries would automatically line up with Pakistan. The Shah of Iran did make some noises during the 1965 and 1971 wars, but he did not suspend oil supplies to India or deny overflight facilities for ferrying equipment from the Soviet Union.

#### Makeshift accords

In this age of unholy political alliances and cynical friendships of convenience, it is possible to cut across the normal ideological and religious dividing lines and strive for makeshift accords to isolate one's potential enemies in a given situation. The defence postures of a country must, therefore, be backed with hard-headed foreign policy pursuits without taking an alarmist view of an adverse development.

An imaginative lead in educating public opinion at home, dispelling the misconceptions about the country's policies abroad or assuring its adversaries about India's peaceful intentions must come from Parliament with the press playing a complementary role. But if issues of national importance like defence and foreign policy are allowed to become issues of party politics in the absence of healthy bipartisan traditions, the country's detractors cannot be blamed for jumping to the conclusion that India is bent on adopting war-like postures to browbeat its neighbours, notably Pakistan. The truth that it is Pakistan that has been feverishly arming itself for no justifiable reason gets overshadowed by the motivated propaganda of some unfriendly powers that India is developing expansionist and hegemonic ambitions.

The Soviet card has certainly been played with considerable skill for resisting American pressures, but it is open to criticism that in overplaying it at times and becoming a prisoner of it in the bargain, India has also been provoking, if not providing justification for, the increasing U.S. involvement in the region. A less equivocal stand on Afghanistan would have perhaps helped to restrain the Reagan Administration to some extent from going the whole hog in arming Pakistan with an entirely new generation of weapon systems.

#### Conformity

If such doubts cannot be expressed publicly by members of the ruling party in Parliament, there should be suitable opportunities open to them to voice their feelings privately in party forums without exposing themselves to the accusation of disloyalty to the leadership and attracting disciplinary action in the bargain.

At one time when foreign policy was treated as a holy cow, nobody dared to criticise Nehru's interpretation of it and the farthest a Congress M.P. could go, was to criticise external publicity for its inadequate projection. And though times have changed, the same sort of sanctity has come to prevail in discussing defence matters in Parliament, as though unquestioning conformity with the official policy line is a hallmark of one's loyalty and patriotism.

## INDIA SHOWS RESTRAINT OVER TAMIL SITUATION

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 28. Another crisis seems to be building up in Sri Lanka following some serious incidents in the Jaffna area, which might be used as an excuse by the Sinhala militants for unleashing another orgy of violence against the Tamils in other parts of the island.

According to reports reaching Delhi, the death of two Air Force men in a shooting incident a few days ago has been followed by an attack on a Tamil congregation in Jaffna in which 10 people died and more than 30 were injured, leading in turn to swift retaliation by the Tamil Tigers which might trigger a chain reaction.

The northern and eastern provinces are said to be quite tense in the wake of the combing operations started by the Government forces. In Colombo, too, the Tamil residents are reported to be feeling very insecure again.

The normal news channels of what is happening in Sri Lanka have been interrupted by the reimposition of censorship on outgoing press messages. The information that is trickling through foreign diplomatic channels is very scrappy and does not provide a full picture of events there.

**Violence feared:** It is against this disquieting background that the Secretary-General of the TULF, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, has been telling the Indian leaders of the grave apprehensions of the Tamil community that the Sri Lanka Government might resort to indiscriminate violence in the next few weeks, before the resumption of the roundtable talks, under the guise of fighting terrorism.

However, a redeeming feature of this sad situation is that, though there has been no progress at the talks, the dialogue itself is not over and the discussions are due to be resumed in early May to continue the efforts for finding a lasting political solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problems.

**Tough stand:** the hard-liners in Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's Cabinet, who at one stage were pressuring the President to call off the dialogue by adjourning

the talks sine die are said to be pressing for a tougher stand against the Tamil Tigers, maintaining that India which is faced with a similar violence in Punjab will be in no position to protest against any harsher methods adopted by Sri Lanka in the northern and eastern provinces.

The Government of India has to decide at what stage to resume its efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement. It continues to display exemplary restraint despite the provocative statements made by the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, and his colleagues against the alleged training and arming of Tamil militants which is totally without any foundation.

Mr. A. Amirthalingam and Mr. R. Sampanthan, had further talks in Delhi today on the Sri Lanka situation. They have had several rounds of talks already with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Prime Minister's Special Envoy, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, and others in the Government. They are expected to meet the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to apprise her of the latest position.

CSO: 4600/1733

**REPORTS ON TERRORIST, DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES****PLA in Manipur**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] IMPHAL, March 27 (UNI). THE recent spurt in insurgency in Manipur was fomented by members of the outlawed People's Liberation Army (PLA) who recently returned from their training camp in norther Burma, according to authoritative sources.

About 45 rebels are said to have returned from Burma early this month through Tengnaupal sub-division bordering Burma.

Four of these men attacked the Central Reserve Police personnel at a volleyball match venue here on March 14. Twelve people were killed in the exchange of fire.

One of these four was Birajit Singh, whose bullet-riddled body was found in the Langol hills some days after the incident.

About 100 youths have left here in batches in recent years of Kachin, a state in northern Burma plagued by insurgency. They included about 20 girls, 30 graduates and a lady lecturer.

These details were revealed by Umatang, a rebel Naga who has been in jail in Manipur since June last year.

The present "commander-in-chief" of the PLA, Temba Singh, who went to Kachin in 1979, returned some time ago to recruit the volunteers.

Because of the pressure of the army in Manipur, the PLA has set up its headquarters in Kachin. It is said to be about two days' walk from Laju, in eastern Arunachal Pradesh.

There have been attempts by rebel Nagas operating from Burma to forge some kind of relationship with the PLA. But these have not come to much beyond luring into their ranks some Nagas from northern Manipur bordering Nagaland.

One of these Nagas, Gam Kathing, returned to Imphal in January with instructions from the underground Naga leader, Mr. Muivah, for the "liquidation" of the former Manipur chief minister, Mr. Yangmasho Saiza, Mr. Shiza was shot dead at his residence here on January 30.

The PLA men who returned recently have not been supplied arms but were advised to snatch the same from security men in Manipur.

In the March 14 incident, the assailants had taken away four self-loading rifles from the CRPF men.

#### Defunct Parties

An official spokesman said the PLA was the only rebel front that was still alive. Two others, the Peoples Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) and Kangla Kangleipak Communist Party had ceased to function.

Insurgency in Manipur was launched in 1960 by a group of highly educated young men under the leadership of Bisheswar Singh and Sudhir Singh. Both leaders had gone to a East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) for training and arms.

Both were arrested in 1969 and were in prison in Tripura until the supreme court ordered their release in 1976.

Following the court decision, the Manipur government declared a general amnesty.

After 12 years of relative calm, insurgency was revived in 1978 by various groups, including the PLA formed by Bisheswar Singh who was arrested a second time and is now in prison.

The manipur government declared the whole of Imphal Valley a disturbed area, following the second wave of insurgency.

So far 300 people have been killed in insurgency.

#### Tripura Organization

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] AGARTALA, March 27 (PTI): The underground Tripura national volunteers' organisation (TNV) has established its tactical headquarters at Singhlum in the Sajak hill range of Bangladesh Chittagong hill tracts and is trying to step up its activities in the border areas of Tripura.

Intelligence sources say the TNV has established working liaison with self-styled Colonel Lalrawliana, who head the outlawed Mizo National Army (MNA). TNV has also constituted hit squads, each comprising ten activists under a "section commander". The deadly ambush last February of a BSF party was the handiwork of two such squads which had organised joint action under the overall command of "Major" Kutrai Koloi of the TNV, the sources say.

These reports have been confirmed by TNV activists, who have either surrendered or have been apprehended by the security forces.

Official sources told PTI that, under an arrangement, TNV president Bijoy Rangkhal had agreed to share with MNA all loot on a 50-50 basis, as TNV is committed to repay man for arms, training and liaison with Bangladesh authorities.

#### Money-Lending

Rangkhal uses cash looted by his outfit from Tripura for extensive money-lending operations in 11 villages, which include Lungtian, Chipui, Zoppuri, Moidung, Tlansang and Thangnan. These villages are largely inhabited for Tripura tribals, who require ready cash during the JHUM season.

Intelligence sources say they have definite reports that Rangkhal and MNA had jointly met Bangladesh intelligence officials at Mariswa several times since March last year. Mariswa is only six hours' walking distance from the TNV base at Singlum.

On October 8 MNA "Colonel" Lalrawaliana had paid a visit to the TNV camp at Singlum and inspected a "passing-out parade" of the first batch of TNV recruits trained since Rangkhal's return to the rebel fold and insurgency.

Rangkhal's links with MNA are old, but they were revived after he came back to the rebel fold in 1982. Fellow guerillas had kidnapped him from his Kamlacherra habitat in north Tripura and kept him a prisoner in Miani reserve forest in Chittagong Hills.

The TNV personnel carry identity cards which ensure free passage for them inside Bangladesh territory. One such card was shown to PTI by the security sources.

Intelligence reports indicate that the TNV base has a unit where photographs of Indian security installations and other targets are developed and used to plan operations.

#### Anti-Naxalites in Tamil Nadu

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by V. R. Mani]

[Text] EARLY in February this year the police in Tamil Nadu's North Arcot district sponsored a local tennis match. This event was considered remarkable by the local population simply because the police had taken time off what is considered their favourite sport: mauling, maiming and exterminating innocent people in the name of combating Naxalism.

The terror that has prevailed in North Arcot, the hotbed of Naxalism in Tamil Nadu, since 1980 seems to be slowly lifting. The Naxalites are quiet except for a few stray cases of kidnapping and attacks on the houses of landlords. Many Reddy and Gounder landlords have left villages for the safety of urban areas, entrusting their lands to peasants.

But the police counter-violence continues. And with it, the oppression and iniquity the Naxalites are pledged to fight. The authorities are taking no chances. The moment one lands in Jolarpettai junction on one's way to Tirupattur, one can almost feel the lancing eyes of spooks. Even for journalists, as many of them have learnt for themselves, venturing into these areas can be quite risky. Journalists have had to disguise themselves as small peasants in order to meet the local civil rights leader, Mr. P. V. Bhaktavatsalam.

Some 300 men of the special armed police are stationed in the area. Three-quarters of the Harijan hostel in Tirupattur is occupied by them. Faced with boredom and isolation, some of them have taken to arrack. They have even had brothels set up in the town.

It appears that in the face of counter-violence the extremists, the majority of whom owe their allegiance to the Kondapally Seetharamaih group, have changed their strategy. They are now organising themselves in an effort to sink roots among the masses. Pauperisation of the lower strata of the people has pushed more and more people off the land. The ranks of the unemployed have swollen to provide ready material for the underground. The indiscriminate and iron-fisted suppression of even the barest democratic whimper by the oppressed by the authorities is only strengthening the underground. Anything--even a harmless wall-poster calling for higher wages--is a serious matter in and around Tirupattur. The fact is any dissension is considered subversive of the M. G. Ramachandran government. Even satirical political plays--not necessarily of the Naxalite genre--which are staged at auditoria in Madras are banned. Any form of protest meeting is disallowed. The entire Tirupattur area seems to be under a state of emergency.

#### Done Little

At the same time, the MGR government has done little to ensure a better deal for the landless, the small farmers, the Harijans, the famished beedi workers and the educated unemployed. Their oppression is the real issue in the area. It is sustained by the principal socio-economic features of the region. Paddy is the principal crop, followed by sugarcane and cotton. This pattern of cultivation results in large-scale unemployment of agricultural workers, thus creating conditions for their exploitation by the landlords.

There are some 15,000 marginal farmers and about 7,000 small farmers from whom has emerged a new class of money-lenders. The money-lenders gradually devour the small-holders by charging interests ranging from 200 to 300 per cent.

There are over 10,000 landless farm labourers in Tirupattur taluk. The unemployment figure according to the 1971 census was 1.54 lakhs in the taluk's total population of 2.54 lakhs. In the decade that has gone by, the number of unemployed people can be expected to have risen further. Farm labour is paid wages as low as Rs. 3 (men) and Rs. 2 (women) per day, against as the Rs. 7.90 fixed by the government. Legislation like the debt relief act exists only on paper. Bonded labour is widely prevalent and indebted farm workers even pledge their teenage sons and daughters to the landlords.

This situation of underdevelopment and oppression formed the backdrop against which some youths, ironically, taking their cue from the chief minister's films, became active in the area. They started rendering instant justice to the oppressors. Like MGR who, in his films, never went to court to solve any social problem,--be it exploitation, bonded labour, whatever else--the youths dispensed justice in their own way. But MGR in his new, real-life role, could not stomach such "high-handedness". How could the people take law into their hands, he asked.

He came down heavily on the activists, who by now had caught the imagination of the educated youths and a section of the rural poor. False cases were framed against the youth activists and repression was let loose. Most of them were held under the Tamil Nadu Prohibition Act or section 41 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which authorises the police to arrest any person moving under suspicious circumstances". This naturally drove them towards some Naxalite leaders from neighbouring Andhra. By 1980 more people had joined the Naxalite fold. Some landlords were killed.

The Ramachandran government, partly in its zeal to create a semblance of law and order and partly owing to pressure from moneybags, gunned down in "encounters" at least 19 Naxalites in North Arcot district alone. But what Mr. Ramachandran failed to see is that he was treating only the symptoms, rather than the cause, of the malady.

Killings went on unabated in the name of combating Naxalism. The infamous "Q" Branch of the police was set up ostensibly to deal with the Naxalites. Many innocent people were branded Naxalites and dealt with severely. In fact, the MGR government has an unenviable record of 311 deaths behind bars. Between January 1981 and May 1982 alone, as many as 61 undertrials died in Tamil Nadu's jails. The government sought to explain the deaths away on the specious plea that they were due to congestion in jails.

#### Live Longer

Interestingly, convicts in Tamil Nadu jails live longer than the undertrials. In 1981, 46 undertrials died while the tally for convicts stood at 21. And even among the convicts, only two died within months of reaching jail. The rest were in jail for periods ranging between two and ten years. What is more, most of the undertrials were in a half-dead state before they reached jail.

Following are some cases of police torture and brutality during the past year in Tamil Nadu. On March 15, 1983, Deivayanai, a 19-year-old Harijan girl, was arrested by the Kacchipalayam (near Salem) police for allegedly robbing an eversilver plate. Three hours after she was taken to the police station, she died. The police said that Deivayanai had hanged herself with her [word indistinct] from the window bar of the police lock up. The post mortem report corroborated this. The police, however maintained a stoic silence on the reason for not handing over the girl to the women police after the arrest. It is not clear how she could have committed suicide when the window was just five feet high.

Raja was a Marijan youth of Kursalapet in North Arcot. He was detained by the police along with two other Harijan youths for an alleged theft in a landlord house. Raja was tortured to death alleged the two who were lucky no to die.

Baju, an unemployed post-graduate, who lives in the Yelagiri Hills, considered the Naxalites' fort in the state, complained to harassment by the police to a top official. His house was raided and articles worth Rs. 60,000 were looted.

Venkatachalam, a non-gazetted trade unionist working in the assistant land surveyor's office in Kacchipuram was away on leave [word omitted] Ariyalur. Two policemen from Sivakasi went with some thugs to Aryalur and Venkatachalam was whisked away in a car and clubbed till blood started oozing from his eyes, nose and mouth. Later he was forced to drink water with silver nitrate in it. And what did Venkatachalam do to earn all this? He had stood witness at a friend's wedding.

Honest government officials have also not been spared by the Tamil Nadu police. For instance, Mr. Deepak Jain, assistant collector, Tirupattur was transferred to a sugar mill in South Arcot district because he wanted to see the minimum wages act for farm labour implemented. Since the implementation of the act was also demanded by the CPDCR (a civil rights organisation) the government concluded that Mr. Jain was a Naxalite sympathiser. Another "folly" of Mr. Jain was the ordering of a probe into the mysterious death of Raja. It is pertinent that Mr. Jain was transferred while the inquiry was still under way.

CSO: 4600/1731

## ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS POSTPONED TO NEXT ELECTIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.

The much-talked-of plans for reform of the functioning of Parliament and of election processes should be deemed to have been deferred till after the next Lok Sabha poll. This is clear from the sequence of recent development in regard to these issues.

Just before the budget session of Parliament, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar, mooted the idea of strengthening Parliament's role as a watchdog in the financial sphere. Among other things, he suggested scrutiny of the budgetary proposals by the committees of the House.

This, it was felt, could be done by transferring, so to say, the discussion on the demands for grants of individual Ministries from the House to the committees. He wanted to begin the switch-over from the current session.

However, this was not found possible as was evident from the fact that the Lok Sabha was already seized of the demands for individual ministries. The demands for the Ministries for External Affairs and Defence had already been considered and those of the Home Ministry were due to be taken up this week.

**Too late for change:** The reasons for sticking to the past pattern were not known officially. Formally, such decisions were the concern of the Rules Committee of the House but more important, in these cases, were informal discussions with leaders of political parties in Parliament. It was not clear whether the issue was taken up formally or informally

and, if so, with what result. According to lobby talk, not all political parties would be willing to accept the switch-over in the election year. In any case, it was too late now to change the existing practice.

**Electoral reforms:** Similarly, the Committee of the Union Cabinet that had been considering proposals for electoral reforms for over three years, was yet to complete its work. The committee's meeting, it was stated, had to be often delayed because of the pre-occupations of its convener, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, External Affairs Minister. The Cabinet Committee's report was to be the first of the four-phase deliberative process which would include consultations with party leaders and legislative action.

The Cabinet Committee was believed to have made up its mind on crucial issues like steps to check defections. But the Government did not react favourably to the suggestion that the anti-defection aspect be taken up separately, in view of the obvious urgency about it. It did not see any special merit in the piecemeal action on the reform proposals.

The reforms package, which could not be put into shape was unlikely to be finalised in the next nine months, before the scheduled time of the Lok Sabha poll. And even if the committee were to complete its work in the near future, political parties may not be in a mood to commit themselves to changes. A serious bid to reform the electoral processes would thus be possible only after the Lok Sabha poll.

CSO: 4600/1726

## SOUTH KOREA TO INCREASE TRADE WITH INDIA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Mar 84 p 2

[Text]

**Seoul, March 29 (PTI) —** South Korea, India's 16th largest trading partner, has expressed the desire to balance its trade with India.

South Korea yesterday agreed to import more iron-ore from India and Mr Kim Chul Soo, Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, said President Chun Doo Hwan's Government is very keen that Indo-Korean trade develop in balanced manner.

South Korea has agreed to import 40-45 per cent more iron-ore from India's Metals and Minerals Trading Corporation (MMTC) next year compared with its imports last year, according to Mr S V S Raghavan, MMTC chairman.

Describing the deal as a 'breakthrough', Mr Raghavan said under the agreement Seoul will buy 2.5 million tonnes in fiscal 1984-85, and has agreed to buy half a million tonnes more after technical examination.

South Korea, the fourth largest importer of India of iron-ore also buys about one million tonnes of iron ore from the private sector. Seoul, which achieved over nine percent GNP growth last year, after a prolonged recession, is running a galloping surplus of about \$56 million with India and the iron ore, India's 'black gold' is being sought to balance the trade.

It is understood that Mr Raghavan, in his talks with Mr Kim and other top officials emphasised the need for balancing the bilateral trade.

Mr Kim agreed that trade must develop in a 'balanced form'.

According to Mr Raghavan, Seoul has also agreed to discuss with India the possibility of a 10-year long-term iron-ore supply agreement.

The talks will be held by the end of this year and the proposed agreement would be the first such deal with India.

MMTC, during the talks here, also stressed the need to transport iron-ore in Indian bottoms and South Korea is understood to have agreed to discuss this possibility with the Shipping Corporation of India in April this year. Presently, all Indian iron-ore is shipped in South Korean vessels.

If the deal is concluded, the shipping earnings from the transportation, will help improve the balance of trade.

MMTC also stressed the desire to supply iron-ore for South Korea's proposed second steel mill, which is likely to go on stream in 1987, making South Korea a leading steel manufacturer in Asia.

Export-minded manufacturing Korean firms are currently competing in India for big projects and the import Hungry Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) recently placed large orders at South Korea yards, thus raising Seoul's exports to India to \$ 556 million in 1983, against its import worth \$ 300 million.

Indian exports are mostly petroleum products, commodities and iron ore.

CSO: 4600/1736

## RESULTS OF RAJYA SABHA BIENNIAL ELECTIONS TOLD

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 29. The Congress (I) today won 40 of the 60 Rajya Sabha seats--two more than its expected tally--obviously as a result of cross-voting in the Opposition camp. Together with the seven uncontested returns, the ruling party will be comfortably placed in the Upper House with 152 members.

The election for the lone vacancy in Meghalaya is due to be held on Saturday. If the Congress (I) bags this seat and the four candidates to be nominated this year join the party, it will be six short of two-thirds majority.

Officially, the Congress (I) put up 46 candidates, but it has exceeded this number even with the Meghalaya elections yet to be held. Mr. Shahabuddin, the outgoing Janata member from Bihar, was the notable victim of cross-voting. The Janata Party was not prepared for this shock though the defeat of its candidate in U.P., Mr. Raj Narain, the controversial former Health Minister, was not unexpected.

## No Upsets in South

In the southern States, there was no upset. In Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK captured four seats and the Congress (I) and the DMK one each while in Andhra Pradesh all the five Telugu Desam candidates and one Congress (I) contestant were victorious.

In Karnataka, the Janata Party got three seats and the Congress (I) one. The Janata was absolutely sure of two seats, but regarded its chances fair for the third one. The result came as a much needed morale-booster for the Hegde Government which had been under continuous pressure from the Congress (I).

Notable among the winners are Mr. K. K. Birla, industrialist, who became the top scorer in Rajasthan, the Union Minister, Mr. N. K. P. Salve, from Maharashtra, and film actress Jayalalitha from Tamil Nadu.

Mr. Birla was assured the support of surplus votes of the Congress (I) which were four short of the requisite quota, but, in practice, he exceeded the

tally of the official candidate of the ruling party. Mr. A. G. Kulkarni, Congress (S), lost in Maharashtra as expected.

There was evidence of cross-voting in the Congress (I) camp as well, but it did not jeopardise the chances of any of its official nominees. Six party members in Maharashtra, three in Haryana and in four in Tamil Nadu, it appeared, did not vote for the official candidates.

#### Janata Relegated

In the new House, the CPI-M (14) will replace the Janata Party as the largest group in the Opposition. This is because the Janata Party's strength was reduced from 19 to 9. The AIADMK with 11 seats will be the second biggest party in the Opposition. The Telugu Desam will now have five members against one earlier.

#### PTI, UNI report:

#### Party-Wise Tally

The party-wise tally in the election is:

Congress (I) 47; Janata Party 4; NDA 2; BJP 3; Telugu Desam 5; CPI (M) 3; CPI 1; AIADMK 4; DMK 1; Forward Bloc 1; Ind. 1. Total: 72.

The Janata Party and the BJP were the main losers. The Janata Party could return just four members as against 14 retiring.

The BJP could return just one member of its own against nine retiring from the House, reducing its strength to six from 14. This excludes two seats won by the NDA.

Four parties--The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), the Republican Party of India (Khobragade), the Socialist Party and the Assam Jatiya Dal--will cease to have representation in the House.

Prominent among those who won for the Congress (I) are Mr. N. M. Kamble, Maharashtra PCC (I) chief, Mr. Vishwabandhu Gupta, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Mr. Anand Sharma, General Secretary, Youth Congress (I) from Himachal Pradesh, Mr. Bhubaneswar Kaliata, President of the Assam Youth Congress (I).

The AINEC president was elected from the Delhi Metropolitan Council. He defeated Mr. Kalka Das of the BJP in a straight contest. Mr. Gupta polled 34 votes and Mr. Das 22.

For the opposition, two former Union Ministers, Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy and Dr. Sarojini Mahishi, both of Janata party, were among the winners.

Mr. Raj Bahadur, former Union Minister, who contested from Rajasthan as Congress (S) nominee, lost.

In Assam, the Congress (I) bagged all the three seats.

All the nine Congress (I) candidates and two candidates of the National Democratic Alliance of the Lok Dal and the BJP were elected from U.P.

Mrs. Ambika Soni of the Congress (S) lost.

The Congress (I) captured five of the seven seats in Bihar. The remaining two seats were secured by the CPI and the National Democratic Alliance of the BJP and the Lok Dal.

The BJP State unit president, Mr. Kailashpatti Mishra, was elected.

All the four Congress (I) nominees, including Mr. K. Vasudev Panicker, AICC (I) Joint Secretary, were elected from Orissa.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Mohanty, PCC (I) President, was elected.

Two other candidates of Janata, set up by the combined Opposition, were defeated.

Of the four retiring members from Orissa two each belonged to the Congress (I) and the Janata Party.

The Congress (I) in Haryana retained its seat and wrested the other from the Opposition Lok Dal.

### 3 Expelled in Bihar

In a swift reaction, the Janata Legislature party in Bihar expelled three of its members on the charge of cross-voting. The expelled members are its deputy leader, Dr. Rajay Kumar Singh, Mr. Rajmangal Mishra, former JLP leader and Mr. Braj Kishore Singh, all supporters of the party's State unit president, Mr. Satyendra Narain Singh. The JLP leader, Mr. Karpoori Thakur said the party candidate Mr. Syed Shahabuddin lost the election because of betrayal by these members.

CSO: 4600/1734

## PRESS REPORTS APPOINTMENT OF NEW GOVERNORS

## G. K. Reddy Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] The Lt. Governor of Delhi, Mr. Jagmohan, has been appointed Governor of Jammu and Kashmir in place of Mr. B. K. Nehru, who has been shifted to Gujarat.

The other appointments of Governors announced tonight are: the present Governor of Gujarat, Mr. K. M. Chandy, who was previously Lt. Governor of Pondicherry, has been moved to Madhya Pradesh in place of Mr. Bhagwat Dayal Sharma who has completed his tenure.

The former Union Minister, Mr. Bhishma Narayan Singh, has been appointed Governor of Assam and Meghalaya in place of Mr. Prakash Mehrota, who goes as High Commissioner to London.

The next Lt. Governor of Delhi will be Mr. P. G. Gavai, a former Chief Secretary of Maharashtra, who recently served as one of the Advisers to the Governor of Punjab, until he was chosen to lead the new Nava Sheva Port Trust.

## Farooq on Leash

The sudden promotion and transfer of Mr. Jagmohan from the Union Territory of Delhi to the sensitive border State of Jammu and Kashmir has caused quite a flutter in political circles here. It is being interpreted as an indication of the Centre's determination to keep Dr. Farooq Abdullah's Ministry, on a tight leash, with the sword of Damocles hanging over his head so as to make him adopt a more acquiescent, or less defiant, attitude.

It is equally surprising that a strong personality like Mr. B. K. Nehru, known for the courageous articulation of his views, even when they are at variance with the wishes of the Centre, has agreed to be transferred to Gujarat in these circumstances. He had firmly opposed the earlier moves to dismiss the Farooq Abdullah Ministry in the wake of the Congress (I) agitation and place the State under Governor's rule.

At one stage, Mr. Bhisma Narayan Singh was reluctant to accept a Governorship since he wanted to continue in politics, while Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma who agreed to take up the Governorship of Assam changed his mind subsequently to fight the next Lok Sabha elections.

The Governor of West Bengal, Mr. A. P. Sharma, who recently submitted his resignation to seek election to the Rajya Sabha, has not only been denied a Congress (I) ticket, but also asked to continue as Governor for the present.

#### CM's Not Consulted

The Centre is no longer consulting the Chief Ministers about the appointment of Governors of their States, but merely informing them of the decisions taken before the formal announcements are made in Delhi. The J and K Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, who disclosed the appointment of Mr. Jagmohan in the Assembly today before the official announcement in Delhi, was also informed about it only this morning over the telephone.

#### Reaction in Kashmir

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] JAMMU, March 27. THE replacement of Mr. B. K. Nehru by Mr. Jagmohan as governor of Jammu and Kashmir is seen here as the Centre's desire to adopt a tougher posture towards the Dr. Farooq Abdullah regime, particularly in view of the recent step-up in the activities of anti-national elements.

Though Mr. Nehru's replacement was being talked of for some time, nobody here was aware that a change of governor would be announced so suddenly.

The announcement that Mr. Nehru was being replaced was made by the chief minister as the afternoon session of the assembly was drawing to a close at 6.15 yesterday. In an unusually grave manner, he informed the house that Mr. Nehru was being replaced by Mr. Jagmohan, lieut. governor of Delhi.

Replying to the queries of Mr. Bhim Singh and Mr. A. G. Lone, he said he was informed just a few minutes earlier about the change by the Union home minister. He had not been consulted.

A major factor in Mr. Nehru's ouster seems to be the different perceptions held by him and the Centre of the situation in the state. The divergence between the perceptions of Mr. Nehru and the Centre about the handling of the secessionist threat by the Farooq regime widened further following the state government's crackdown on Congress agitationists in the valley in January resulting in several deaths.

The Congress supporters in the state were able to convince the Centre that while they were being treated harshly for resorting to democratic means to get their grievances redressed, the secessionists and anti-national elements were being treated with "kid gloves".

The mass round-up of the secessionist elements followed only after Mr. Nehru and Dr. Abdullah were summoned to New Delhi by the Prime Minister just a couple of days before Republic Day.

The Centre had also not taken kindly to the National Conference's alliance with Mirwaiz Farooq, chairman of the Awami action committee. Soon after the announcement of the alliance, just prior to the June 5 election, the Mirwaiz declined to state his citizenship.

Thereafter, some of his supporters are reported to have raised pro-Pakistani slogans while Dr. Abdullah was being taken in a victory boat procession after being sworn in as chief minister.

These factors, plus the "systematic attempt" to disrupt the one-day international cricket match between India and the West Indies at Srinagar on October 13, which Dr. Abdullah had dismissed as an expression of resentment by a section of the spectators at the poor performance of the Indian team, had convinced the Centre that the state government was showing a lamentable disregard to safeguarding the security of the state.

However, Dr. Abdullah's statement in the assembly yesterday evening that nothing should be said which could queer the pitch for Mr. Jagmohan is seen here as indicative of the more relaxed posture that he has adopted in recent days vis-a-vis the Centre.

Though one can only guess as to what caused this change of heart, observers feel that the chief minister has realised that adopting a policy of confrontation with the Centre and throwing his lot with the opposition parties is a self-defeating posture in the long run. Recently, at a meeting in Arinagar he stressed that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's hands should be strengthened. Though he denied this part of his statement, people who were present at that meeting say that he spoke most favourably for Mrs. Gandhi.

The governors sent here so far have been senior bureaucrats drawn from the Indian Civil Service. They included Mr. Bhagwan Sahay, Mr. L. K. Jha and Mr. Nehru. Being seasoned men, with a wealth of experience behind them, they had kept, barring stray aberrations, the ship of the state on an even keel.

Mr. Jha had played a pivotal behind-the-scenes role during the negotiations which concluded in the Kashmir accord and Sheikh Abdullah's return to power. Similarly, Mr. Nehru had been able to establish a relationship of trust with Dr. Abdullah.

A major factor in Mr. Jagmohan's favour is his age, being comparatively younger than his predecessor.

CSO: 4600/1730

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS SPYING ACTIVITIES OF KUTCH GANGS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Article by R. K. Misra]

[Text] BHUJ (Kutch dist.): AN intricate web of smuggling, espionage and gun-running has been woven in this strategic border region neighbouring Pakistan, providing economic colour and political respectability to a strong tribe of gnagland bosses whose loyalties lie elsewhere and whose activities pose a threat to the security of the country.

Even as the Gujarat customs gloat over seizures worth a few crores, huge consignments of contraband glide past under its nose in Kutch. The sea-borne clandestine traffic turnover, according to reliable trade sources, stands at well over Rs. 300 crores, annually while the overland smuggling from the Sind region of Pakistan into Kutch is also said to be of a fairly high order, though precise figures are not available.

Despite an earnest superintendent of police and a dedicated inspector's attempts to instil the fear of God and the law into the hearts of these powerful operators, the odds still stand heavily weighed in the latter's favour, for they possess what matters most--vast resources and political patronage.

The customs, who are directly responsible for curbing smuggling activities, continue to cut a sorry figure. Their intelligence apparatus is woefully out of touch and corruption has gnawed at its entrals. An intelligence check on the assets amassed by officers of this department will disclose some shocking facts. Kutch can easily be termed a smuggler's paradise.

But the most alarming part of the story is that many of these gangs are also active in collecting and passing out classified and highly sensitive data on movement of armed units as well as defence installations.

Suspicions to this effect acquired a concrete form when photographs of important military and civil installations were seized in a raid on the house of a smuggler. These were reportedly meant to be passed on to a neighbouring country.

The link between the proliferating smuggling activities and espionage in this part of the country is not a mere coincidence. A careful study reveals it to be part of a well-charted long-term plan. Barring rare exceptions, the bulk of frontline smugglers operating in Kutch are Muslims. And almost all of them have their roots in the Muslim-dominated borderland and coastal areas of Kutch. This enables them to operate almost at will, much to the chagrin of the police, customs and the intelligence apparatus who are at a distinct disadvantage when dealing with them.

Almost all the big names in smuggling today in Kutch were steeped in poverty a decade ago, leading a nondescript existence. The king of the Kutch smuggling world, Jumma Vali Mohammed, also known as Kutch Mastan, not very long ago, eked out a living by cutting wood and bringing it to the markets of Bhuj every day. Today he is alleged to be a partner in international smuggling operations carried on by his group from a Gulf country. His worth in terms of money would leave one aghast.

Thus the pattern which emerges is familiar. Rich and powerful smuggling groups emerge through the time-honoured process of survival of the fittest. With huge funds at their disposal--a commodity the politician needs very badly--the smugglers buy powerful support and patronage which enables them to carry on their nefarious activities with impunity, legislators and other important functionaries play no mean role in getting "inconvenient" officers transferred out and replaced by those considered "reliable" by them and their accomplices.

#### Firm Policeman

There is a classic case of an education department hand who was posted in a taluka headquarters of Kutch district and every time there was a move to transfer him, an MLA belonging to the ruling party managed to bring pressure from a cabinet minister to get it stalled. This official was known to be close to a well-known smuggler and was even suspected to have allowed use of the government telephone for clandestine activities. Only after numerous representations had been made to the home minister, Mr. Prabodh Rawal, who is also the education minister, was the official transferred out of the taluka.

The superintendent of police of Kutch, Mr. Kuldip Sharma, has done a fine job. By shaking up the corrupt and inefficient in the district, he has, for the first time, instilled some confidence in the hearts of the people.

Understandably, he has incurred the wrath of numerous anti-social and smuggling kingpins. Bablo, son of Ibrahim Bachu Bafan, a well-known smuggler, filed a case against him in the local court alleging assault and cited a legislator, Mr. Jai Kumar Sanghvi, as his witness. The attention of Mr. Sanghvi was drawn to this but he has not cared to contradict it so far.

An almost 300-km long, rambling coastline stretching from the Maliya creek to beyond akhpat, scantly policed and sparsely populated stands out as a mouthwatering proposition for international contraband peddlers. This has

led to a proliferation of smugglers, many of whom work in tandem with those doing business in isolation. The better known among them are Jumma Val Mohammed, Mithu Bawa, Ibrahim Bafan, Sumer Bottle, Yakub Bawa, Kasam Sindhi, Sumara Bachva Ahmed, Sumara Adam Jumma, Ismail Abduliah Padhiyar and Jat Bhula Jusab.

There are seven major operators besides numerous other assorted ones. Almost all of them find mention in records as highly dangerous operators for whom snuffing out a life is as easy as scratching their noses. All the gangs are armed to the teeth and even possess semi-automatic weapons and high-powered transmitters and walkie-talkies.

Though smuggling has been going on in Kutch for ages, it was only in the last decade that there was a sharp spurt in it. As things stand today, the bulk of the major operators in the region, bring in more than one consignment in a month, each one valued around Rs. 3 crores. Going by elementary arithmetic, even if the seven powerful gangs bring two consignments each month, the monthly contraband brought into Kutch stands at about Rs. 42 crores (most of the time there are more than two consignments coming in every month per gang) and in eight active months in a year, the turnover comes to a whopping Rs. 336 crores, according to unimpeachable sources.

No sooner is the landing done, than the contraband consignments are moved underground with lightning speed and then moved out of Kutch in bits and pieces.

Once having fortified their Indian connections with a sound economic base, the string pullers from outside the country encourage their Indian teams to finance a whole lot of assorted activities. The first and foremost one is gathering of information on vital aspects regarding defence. The raid on the establishment of Ibrahim Bachu led to the recovery of photographs of defence installations and other material of a very sensitive nature.

#### Lone Crusader

The Union minister of state for home affairs, Mr. Venkatasubbiah, informed the Rajya Sabha on March 15, quoting information received from the Gujarat government, that orders had been issued for the arrest under COFEPOSA of 13 persons of whom ten had already been detained while three were on the run. He also admitted that objectionable documents which constituted violation of the official secrets act had also been seized.

However, the one point of information that the minister failed to give was that of those detained under COFEPOSA, one had subsequently been released, Bhula Jat is said to have been released by the advisory board.

An important fact to be noted in the context of Kutch, is that the bulk of the seizures that have been effected in the region in the last couple of months have been made by the police, largely a single individual, Inspector H. J. Mistry. It almost seems that he is leading a crusade against smuggling single-handed. That this police officer has become a thorn in the side of

the contraband peddlers is evident from the fact that there have been numerous attempts on his life.

A son of the Kutch soil, Inspector Mistry has proved invaluable in anti-smuggling operations here. But what does he have to show for it? A record 30 transfers in 16 years of service.

The customs who do not have much to show for themselves, are being singularly non-co-operative in exposing the massive racket. During my nearly week-long tour of Kutch, I tried to contact the customs officials on numerous occasions for their part of the story but they remained evasive.

Even in such a well-known matter as the names of COFEPOSA detenus the customs kept passing the buck. Their Rajkot office did not have the names. The assistant collector (customs) in Bhuj said that he was not authorised to give the names and Ahmedabad should be contacted for it.

As things stand, Mr. Kuldip Sharma who has mounted an all-out offensive against anti-social activities, particularly smuggling, dare not even trust his own men barring a selected few, for smugglers have dug in well, with their informants in every nook and cranny. Many a time information provided to the police and even to the customs has leaked out, ensuring almost instant elimination of the informant. The number of undetected murders as well as cases in which assailants have got away scot-free have been fairly high.

Of late, Ahmedabad has become an important two-way point for smuggling traffic to and from Kutch and Saurashtra. It is a major collection and storage centre for silver meant to be smuggled out and similarly for contraband goods brought in.

#### The Big Boss

One name which is taken with great respect in the international silver smuggling circles is that of Abdulla Yakub Hatti. A Pakistani national, the man operates with apparent impunity. Nobody has seen him. Neither do the law enforcing agencies have a picture of him. He is learnt to have come to India on numerous occasions but always under aliases and on false passports.

He is reported to be the Asian mastermind behind smuggling today. He moves around in the open seas on board vessels equipped with the latest electronic gadgetry and armed with extremely heavy firepower. He is also reported to have strong connections in his parent country.

Every time there is a "junction" transaction of loading of incoming cargo and simultaneous onloading of outgoing silver, the second-in-command of the international group is always on the vessel himself. In the last transaction which took place on the Kutch coast very recently, a task force missed it by just about half-an-hour, enough time to spell the difference between success and failure.

A very common ploy used by smugglers is to tip off the customs about an impending unloading of contraband or loading of silver. A small decoy

consignment worth a couple of lakhs is then passed out and as the agency gets busy after it, the major consignment is moved out safely.

Besides smuggled goods, there has also been a very heavy inflow of sophisticated arms. These are being regularly brought in along with electronic goods. The arms entering India from these points are distributed in other parts of the country. A Barretta pistol can be bought for as low as Rs. 3,000 and a Mauser for Rs. 10,000. With its case turning into a butt, the Mauser becomes a deadly hip-firing semi-automatic weapon.

This apart, the coastal villages are brimming with semi-automatic weapons and it is common knowledge that even police search parties visiting these areas for routine crime investigation dare not go without state reserve police armed support.

It is common knowledge that a vessel which was wrecked near Mangrol when the last cyclone hit this part of the country contained contraband and arms in sizable quantities. The priest of a nearby mosque who is reported to have witnessed the offloading and looting of the ship was killed. A policeman also died in suspicious circumstances.

The case led to an interdepartmental duel between the customs and the police. According to the informants of this correspondent, a big consignment of arms was definitely offloaded here. It was speedily moved out and distributed. The police investigation of the case is still going on but they do not seem to have come up with anything substantial.

This apart, the inflow of arms in an area of vital defence bearing like Kutch is a matter of concern. But so are the activities of individuals. Of particular interest in this regard were the movements of a person who identified himself as Captain Shyamji. This man was very active in Kutch in 1981-83. A fast-speaking, jet-set, suave individual, he worked his way in to the high society of Kutch, making friends and influencing people. He could reel off big names without hesitation and knew everybody who mattered.

His eagerness to mix with defence service officers was noticed as were his very frequent visits to Bombay. Later, he was arrested by the police and his house searched but nothing was found. He vanished from the scene. The state intelligence had been tipped off well in time by an individual but the matter was not taken seriously.

A variety of Indian intelligence agencies also have operatives in Kutch to keep an eye on the developments in the area but most of the operatives being outsiders are unable to penetrate the coastal areas occupied by people of Kutch-Sindhi origin.

This population has a high degree of interaction in terms of relations and friends across the border. This kinship continues and, knowingly or unknowingly, becomes a fertile ground for harbouring those attempting to infiltrate.

**UN DELEGATE SPEAKS ON INDIAN OCEAN PROBLEMS****New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Mar 84 p 7****[Text]**

**United Nations, March 25 (PTI)**—India has told a UN committee that recent developments in the Indian Ocean area had added a 'new dimension' to the insecurity of the littoral and hinterland states.

Speaking at the closing session of the ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean, Miss Savitri Kunadi, said on Friday that these developments had made it imperative for the non-aligned countries of the Indian Ocean area to pursue the concept of the zone of peace more vigorously than before.

She recalled that successive resolutions of the General Assembly since 1971 had reiterated the call on the great powers to enter into consultations with the littoral state, military presence and eliminating from the Indian Ocean bases, military installations and logistic supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of their rivalry and confrontation.

The Indian delegate expressed the hope that the proposed conference on the Indian Ocean would open in Colombo in the first half of 1985.

The ad hoc committee which ended its two week session yesterday is to meet again in July. The non-aligned group in the committee introduced a "draft frame work" of provisional agenda for the UN conference on the Indian Ocean.

The committee, Miss Kunadi pointed out in her statement, has engaged for several years in "futile exercise" to fashion new concepts of the Indian Ocean zone of peace and to consideration of extraneous issues which have diverted the attention of the committee from its main task.

Miss Kunadi urged countries represented on the committee to demonstrate sufficient political will to implement the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

At the beginning of the session, the United States had given notice that it could not continue its former role in the work of the committee. US delegate Joe S Sorzano had told the committee that "today the situation is, regrettably, less, rather than more conducive to an Indian Ocean zone of peace."

## IMPORTANCE OF NAKASONE VISIT STRESSED

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.

A new political development of far-reaching significance on the Asian scene is the concerted effort now being made by Japan to establish close economic links with China and India, the two Asian giants which can benefit immensely from its technological cooperation.

India, which is attaching considerable importance to the forthcoming visit of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yashuhiro Nakasone, is awaiting with exceptional interest the outcome of his current trip to Beijing, especially the reported offer of a credit of nearly \$2 billions to help China buy Japanese equipment for its industrial development.

It is waiting to see whether Mr. Nakasone would come with a comparable offer to India in early May to set a similar tone for increased Indo-Japanese economic cooperation. As this will be the first visit to India by a Japanese Prime Minister after 23 years, New Delhi too is keen that Mr. Nakasone's trip should become an important landmark in the expansion of Indo-Japanese relations.

It is for this reason that some special steps are being taken by India to use this occasion for creating an awareness among the Japanese industrialists of the many opportunities open for increased Indo-Japanese economic cooperation. The briefs for talks with Mr. Nakasone, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Shintaro Abe, and other senior members of his delegation are being drawn up on the assumption that this is going to be a very important visit.

The Indian officials in charge of the Nakasone visit are not jumping to the conclusion that suddenly Japan has developed a special Asian identity or is seeking to establish closer economic links with China and India to create a new Asian power triangle to contain the

influence of the two superpowers. As one of the main pillars of the Western economic community and an ally of the U.S., Japan will not do anything to weaken its basic positions or compromise its special interests by seeking closer links with China and India to enhance its own importance as the most advanced Asian nation that has already leaped forward into the 21st century in the industrial sphere.

**Misconceptions:** The preparatory work for the Nakasone visit from the Indian side is, therefore, directed primarily at dispelling some prevailing misconceptions about each other's attitudes, removing psychological barriers and focussing attention on the vast opportunities open for increased cooperation. If there has not been much substance to Indo-Japanese relations in the past, it was largely because they did not figure high enough in each other's priorities in the absence of a mutual effort to create better understanding and strive for a better equation.

As New Delhi sees it, it is only now that Japan has started taking an interest in India by shedding some of the old inhibitions, but it is yet to come forward with concrete suggestions and attractive offers for increased industrial collaboration. There is no response still from Japan, for example, to the Indian proposal for a science and technology agreement. There are many collaborative projects but most of them are on a modest scale, while the prospects for increased cooperation are immense extending to almost every sphere of Indian development.

**Main barrier:** At the political level, the main barrier to better understanding has been the Japanese presumption that India was in the Soviet camp, and the Indian belief that Japan was too pro-American to play any independent role in Asian affairs, with the result that the two countries have been viewing almost every

development differently due to these fixations. But on the positive side there has been no anti-Japanese feeling in India at any stage, since the country was not subjected to Japanese occupation during the second world war like so many other Asian nations. The Japanese have had some warm sentiments for India, appreciating the country's admiration for its industrial achievements in the face of stiff Western competition.

Otherwise, India knows very little of Japan's history, psychology and current political aspirations. It has not even started making a serious effort to understand Japan, nor does it have any clear idea of what it wants from Japan, except talk vaguely of increased economic cooperation. The Japanese, on the other hand, have a more precise approach and are quite clear in their own minds about how far they would be prepared to develop closer economic links with India, if the right climate is created for it.

The best that the two Prime Ministers, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Nakasone, and their principal advisers can do at this stage is to set the tone for increased cooperation and identify the broad areas for it. Then the experts from both sides have to get together to give a practical shape to it.

But the time is not yet ripe even for the most ardent advocates of Asian cooperation to talk of a closer triangular relationship between China, India and Japan.

CSO: 4600/1726

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN PUNJAB

## Sikh Students' Plans

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

## [ Text ]

**T**he All India Sikh Students Federation, banned last week by the Centre, had been trying to mobilise a massive guerrilla force including well-trained foreigners to carry out a programme to liquidate Hindu targets in the State.

According to information available now, the AISSF had asked its supporters to procure arms and ammunition for such a programme. The federation leadership also intended to enrol foreigners and organise a series of training camps for them, which would mark a major departure from its earlier policy of not opening the Sikh Students Federation to outsiders.

The latest information from within the federation points to the extreme limits to which the leadership was willing to go, and to its ambitions to be main armed unit to carry out the policies and orders of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. On the one hand, the AISSF leaders were planning suicide squads of daredevil assassins and terrorists and at another they had ambitions to raise a 150,000-strong armed force by recruiting ten young Sikhs from every one of the 15,000 villages in the State.

This was one of the major proposals put forward at the meeting of the federation executive committee from 26 to 28 February which was also attended by Mr Bhindranwale on the last day. The meeting decided to immediately set up two brigades of Sikh youth, one of which would specialise for offensives outside the Golden Temple complex.

The meeting had also decided to hold joint Sikh-Muslim conventions and oppose what they termed the 'Hindu imperialist forces'. They also planned to hold their own courts to put Central leaders on 'trial' for various 'crimes' against the Sikhs, and later mete out punish-

ment to them.

In fact, the proceedings at the recent meetings of the federation and its public actions have given the lie to claims of its supporters that it is an innocent organisation of students. If anything, the evidence is growing proving it to be a terrorist organisation which kills in cold blood, and does not even spare the Sikhs who too have been its target along with the Hindus on its hit-list.

Three of these extremists gunned down a Sikh 'granthi' of a village gurdwara in Mallan village in the Mallanwali police station area of Ferozepore district on 21 March. The granthi, Mr Veer Singh, had refused to let the extremists use his gurdwara as their base for killings in that area.

The AISSF was born in the early 1940s with the major objective of seeking redressal for the grievances of Sikh students and to give them religious education. It soon broke into several groups which became attached to various factions of Sikh political groups then active. The splinter groups were brought together in 1978 and the reorganised AISSF emerged as the youth wing of the Shiromani Akali Dal. All too soon it started taking a very active part in Punjab Sikh politics.

When Mr Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale rose in power, the federation severed its ties with Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and started taking its orders directly from Mr Bhindranwale, who soon converted the federation into an armed gang of extremists. Mr Longowal set up a separate youth wing of the Akali Dal.

The AISSF leadership, including its president Amrik Singh, vice president Harvinder Khalsa, general secretary Harminder Singh Sandhu, organising secretary Rajendra Singh Mehta and secretary Amarjit Singh Chawla are in hiding in the Golden Temple from where they direct the terrorist activity.

### Fresh Crackdown Soon

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Mar 84 p 1

[Excerpt] NEW DELHI, March 25. ANOTHER crackdown on extremist political elements in Punjab can be expected soon, the objective of which is to deal a crippling blow to the terrorist outfit. This, at any rate, is what the joint planning of the crucial operations is now aiming at.

So far, the operations have been against the terrorists operating in the field. The next phase will aim at the key organisation points to disrupt the sources of arms supply and direction of the terrorists.

It has been possible for the authorities to chart out a map of terrorist operations in the state from some vital intelligence obtained from those captured recently. The authorities now apparently feel that they have been able to identify the vital sectors which, if put out of operation, will lead to the collapse of the terrorist movement.

This achievement has given the authorities so much confidence that they are not worried at all at the recent spurt in violent incidents. The incidents were seen as evidence of a desperate attempt on the part of the terrorists to counter the recent steps taken by the administration and demoralise the police force.

Government sources here assert that the terrorists have not succeeded. Evidence of it is that two armed extremists were chased and captured by the police in Amritsar district yesterday. This greatly heartened the authorities that the measures taken to instil confidence in the police force were showing results.

### Favourable Situation

According to sources, this favourable situation has been achieved in phases. First, vigil was tightened around the Amritsar Golden Temple which, the authorities are convinced, is the nerve centre of the terrorist organisation. The movement of people with arms in and out of the temple complex thereby became difficult.

The next step was to ban the All-India Sikh Students' Federation. The authorities were convinced from evidence that they had in their possession that the federation was responsible for many of the murders committed in the state and outside in the last two years.

The federation leaders have also been mobilising people in favour of Khalistan and organising "liquidation" of opponents in league with other extremist groups. They have been holding a series of "conventions" whose main objective was to rouse communal passion and secessionist sentiments.

The next step will be a swoop down on those elements which have been encouraging, organising and directing the terrorist operations and they may include

some political figures. That, it is hoped, will seal the fate of the terrorist movement.

The authorities have no doubt that a final solution of the Punjab problem is thrashing out a political settlement. But this will not be attempted until extremist activity is completely stamped out. The experience during the last round of tripartite talks has clearly shown that as long as the extremists remain active, they will not allow any negotiations to succeed.

The political leadership here has decided that it will not yield to any kind of pressures for resumption of negotiations until it is convinced that these have a chance of success.

The government in any case is not under any great pressure for starting a dialogue. The opposition parties are in agreement with it that it would be futile to have negotiations as long as the Akali leadership is under the extremists' influence, or as long as the leadership remains their hostage.

The opposing parties have disapproved of the Akali leadership allowing the extremists to use gurdwaras, especially the Golden Temple, as their sanctuary for carrying on terroristic activities. They have also disapproved of its movement of burning copies of Article 25 of the constitution, as this encourages secessionist sentiments.

The government steps now can be described as an operation to liberate the moderate Akali leadership from the clutches of the extremists. It is expected that complete restoration of conditions in which fruitful talks will be possible will take at least another six to eight months.

For the period of the next term of President's rule in the state, the government can be expected to confine itself to measures to restore normal conditions in the state. What step will be decided upon at the end of the term will depend on the conditions obtaining them. The Lok Sabha elections will have arrived. One of the options the government is likely to consider is whether to hold mid-term elections to the assembly as well simultaneously to create the appropriate conditions for a solution of the state's problems.

#### CPI-M Sikh Leader

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 24. Mr. Harkrishen Singh Surjeet, CPM leader, who has played a major role in the efforts to find a negotiated settlement on Punjab and has been sympathetic towards the Akali demands, now has denounced the activities of the Dal leaders as separatist and anti-secular.

In a letter recently to the Dal president, Sant Longowal, Mr. Surjeet asserted with "agony and anguish" that "the dominant feature of today's situation in Punjab was the growing polarisation on communal lines, threatening the unity of Punjabis and the values of secularism and nationalism.

"You have many times raised your voice against the police entry into the Golden Temple because it will injure the religious feelings of the Sikh community. But does that mean that those who manage the affairs of the gurdwara have no responsibility?"

"Is He a Sant?"

"Extremists hold press conferences in the Golden Temple. They use the platform of the gurdwara to instigate the people to take revenge. They advocate sacrilege of religious places. They announce the constitution of Khalistan and raise its flag."

"Are these not anti-national acts? On what basis are the disruptive elements allowed in the gurdwara? How are these actions in consonance with keeping the sanctity of the gurdwara?"

Mr. Surjeet referred to an article by Sant Sajjan Singh Mogendpuri, once head priest of the Akal Takht, in which he said that if the police were not allowed inside the gurdwara, it cast an obligation on the managing committee not to allow the use of the place to harbour criminals or to spread hatred against any community.

Pointing out that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale had openly advocated that the creed of the Sikh religion was based on revenge, Mr. Surjeet asked: "Why are his activities not denounced as anti-national and why is he allowed to don the garb of a sant? Can you quote any 'shabad' from Guru Granth Sahib which preaches hatred against any minority community?"

The CPM leader said the Akali agitation against article 25 had alienated the Akali Dal from the opposition parties. "Nobody says the constitution cannot be amended: it is provided in the constitution itself."

"However, this matter was never raised by the Akali Dal earlier since the enforcement of the constitution. Suddenly it has been made the central issue, bypassing all other demands on which the agitation was going on till now."

He pointed out that the Dal had started talking about a personal law but had not spelt out what it meant. This again was meant to encourage the feeling of separatism among the Sikhs.

"If the country has to make separate social and economic laws for different religious communities, what would remain of secularism and democracy?" It was perhaps meant to negate the right of women to paternal property as provided in the Hindu succession act. It was a retrograde step against which the womenfolk were bound to revolt.

Punjab Press Communally Split

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by K. S. Khosla]

[Text] AMRITSAR, March 23. PRESSMEN are working under severe strains in this communally surcharged city and the strain has begun to show even in their personal relationship and day-to-day professional work. That Sikh and Hindu reporters are divided into two camps is no longer a secret.

Most, though not all, Hindu correspondents have stopped going to the Golden Temple for news coverage, Sikh journalists, who go to the Golden Temple, are also under strain, but of a different kind.

A sikh reporter confided in me that if he reported objectively, he was branded as pro-Akali" and if he tried to "soften" his copy he was taken to task by extremists, who are touchy about their press releases being rewritten. The same is true of Hindu religious parties which complain of inadequate coverage of their views.

Journalists are thus caught in a cross-fire. Total objectivity, wholly free from subjectivity, may not be possible. But surely both sides of the picture can be given. But this is not happening. Reporters working here confess to some self-censorship either by themselves or by their principals at the headquarters or both.

The situation is illustrated by the reporting of the hand grenade explosion at the Shivala Bhayian temple on Shivaratri day on February 29. Most of the reports sent that day said that the grenade had exploded in the temple. This was not so.

The grenade exploded 60 to 70 yards away from the temple, and [word indistinct] one of the [word indistinct] put up on the road in celebration of the mela.. On both sides of the road are posh residential houses. Reports also said that two boys and a medical practitioner were caught hold of by a mob and CRPF personnel, but the Punjab police later let them off. Both the boys and the doctor were caught at a fan manufacturing unit adjacent to the temple.

Who are these boys and the doctor? The boys are the sons of Mr. Satpal Singh, an important Congressman. Dr. Indereet Singh Sandhu is their uncle and a brother of Mr. Satpal Singh.

This correspondent talked to one of the boys in his factory. The boy, Patton Singh, is not even 18. I talked to him in the midst of the charred remains of office furniture and other property. He said he was a victim of curiosity. When a lot of people rushed inside the temple after the explosion, he climbed the common wall of the factory and the temple to see what was happening. He was caught hold of by the mob. His brother, too, was caught by men of the CRPF, but they were later rescued by the Punjab police and taken to the Punjab police post opposite the temple.

Dr. Sandhu said that he was among the first to give first-aid to the victims of the explosion at the clinic of Dr. Paramjit Singh Khurana near the site of the explosion. He and Dr. Amarjit Kaur, wife of Dr. Khurana, treated five or six victims. The first victim they treated was a Sikh lad, who could not walk as he was injured in both the legs. He later died in hospital.

Dr. Sandhu said that while he was treating the victims he got a message from his wife that Patton Singh and his brother had not reached home. He then left for the factory. On the way he met a Hindu friend, who dissuaded him from going there and went himself to look for the boys. But when he saw smoke coming out of the factory he could not help entering the premises. He was caught by the CRPF jawans while he was extinguishing flames. They manhandled him and took him to their officer.

The doctor said he pleaded with the officer that he was a retired army captain and that the officer could inspect his identity card. But the officer refused to see his card and "ordered his men to shoot me." At this juncture an officer of the Punjab police intervened and took him to the police post where he was kept till late in the night.

The temple officer-bearers had a different story to tell. They alleged that these boys and the doctor were not the persons caught by the police and alleged that the real culprits had been let off.

They told this correspondent that it was Dr. Khurana, who treated the victims and not Dr. Sandhu. But when I called on Dr. Khurana in his clinic he told me that he was not present in his clinic at that time, and that it was his wife and Sandhu who provided first-aid.

One of the temple office-bearers alleged that the boys and Dr. Sandhu set fire to the factory to get insurance claim money. Dr. Sandhu said that the factory was not insured. It was a total loss.

The district authorities are sore at the allegation of the CRPF personnel that they did not have "firm orders" from the district chiefs. They say that the deputy commissioner, Mr. Gurdev Singh Brar, and the senior superintendent of police, Mr. Ajaipal Singh Mann, were on the spot in the midst of cross-firing between the CRPF and state police, risking their lives. They gave orders to the CRPF officer, but he did not obey them, they say but for their intervention the two boys and Dr. Sindhu would have been lynched by the mob.

Till last year, the temple people and the factory owners were living as good neighbours. Dr. Sandhu said that till last year the temple authorities used to display fireworks on the roof of the factory. They had also helped the temple authorities acquire some land behind the factory.

The temple authorities are bitter about the "partisan role" of the Punjab police and showed me bullet marks on the walls and at other places on the temple building. They said that the CRPF personnel did not fire a single bullet and reached the spot late even though they were stationed in a serai just behind the temple. These facts were gathered by this correspondent during the two-hour visit to the temple and the factory. Only a judicial probe can bring out the truth.

## OFFSHORE ONGC COMMISSION MEMBER TALKS TO PRESS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

Calcutta, March 24 (PTI)—With intensive on-shore and off-shore exploration, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) hopes to reach production of oil and oil equivalent of gases between 45 million and 60 million tonnes by 1990, Dr A K Malhotra, member (offshore) of the commission, told newsmen here today.

Dr Malhotra, said the seventh Plan was under discussion with the Planning Commission and the projection by the working group was yet to be finalised and approved by the Ministry.

But, he said, under the ONGC's perspective plan of projected production till 1990 of 45 million to 60 million tonnes of oil and oil equivalent gases is envisaged. Oil had been struck in Krishna-Godavari basin and currently 13 bases both on-shore and off-shore were being explored, he added.

Dr Malhotra said that ONGC would go into production in another fields — Heera in the western offshore region — during 1984-85.

Expressing satisfaction over the progress on production front, he said the commission had in fact exceeded the target of 400,000 barrels daily set for March 1985 by March 1983 — two years ahead of schedule.

On oil exploration in the eastern region, Dr Malhotra said the ONGC was going to start drilling offshore of West Bengal in the relatively shallow waters of the Sunderbans by early 1984. Experts proposed to drill two wells of 5.5 kms deep initially. If the find was good, then more wells would be drilled. It would be the first offshore drilling by the ONGC in this sector and the experts were now examining the logistic aspects.

He said in 1980-81, the offshore production of oil by the ONGC was 4.4 million tonnes, from the Bombay High. In 1983-84, offshore production from Bombay High and Ratua, south of Bombay, was 17.40 million tonnes in excess of the target. In 1984-85, ONGC's production would be more than 20 million tonnes out of a total production of 29 million tonnes of oil in the country.

In his address on the occasion Dr Malhotra said the three objectives — self reliance in ex-

pertise, goods and equipment-set before it by ONGC when it started exploration in 1980, had already been achieved.

The commission was laying emphasis on quality and stricts adherence to delivery schedules, he said.

The Chairman and Managing Director of the Mazagon Docks Limited, Admiral N P Dutt, said that one of eight vessels required by the ONGC had already been delivered last month and the remaining would be handed over at the rate of one every three months. If the delivery was completed before time, the shipyard would be eligible for a five per cent bonus. The ship building industry being ancient required modernisation not only in equipment, plant and machinery but also in management concept and production technique, he added.

In his welcome address, Commodore S C Bose, Chairman and Managing Director of Hooghly Docking, said these special types of vessels were being constructed in the country for the first time. To pool technical resources for the purpose, four public sector shipyards — Garden Reach Shipbuilders and Engineers Limited, Hindustan Shipyard Ltd, Goa Shipyard Ltd and the Hooghly Docking and Engineering Co. Ltd., formed a consortium and availed of Norwegian design and technical collaboration.

Dr Malhotra later told pressmen that out of the 12 vessels, the share of Hindustan Shipyards Limited was four, Garden Reach Shipbuilders and Engineers Limited and Goa Shipyards Limited three each and Hooghly Docking two. Another eight had been ordered on Mazagon Docks in Bombay.

Thirteen ships had also been ordered on foreign shipyards on the basis of global tenders. Eight would be built by South Korean yard, five by a Singapore yard on good credit terms. These ships would be cheaper than those made indigenously, he said.

The ONGC has chartered 32 foreign vessels. Of them, payment was being mode in Indian currency for 14, while in the case of others, a payment of 3,000 US dollars was being made per day per vessel, he added:

CSO: 4600/1722

RSS GENERAL SECRETARY PRESENTS ANNUAL REPORT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] NAGPUR, March 24: Prof. Rajendra Singh, general secretary of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, said here on Thursday that the religious demands of the Akalis should be delinked from the political ones. While the former could be immediately conceded, the latter could be referred to a special tribunal.

In his annual report to the general body meeting here, Prof. Singh expressed grave concern over the situation in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam.

The situation in Punjab had not been controlled effectively and mere condemnation of violence by one and all was not going to solve the problem there. The Sikhs and Hindus must keep in mind their age-old ties based on their common culture, heritage and history, he said.

According to him, the passing of the Foreigners' Detection Act by Parliament without prior discussions with either the Assam agitators or political parties indicated the shabby way in which the Central government was dealing with this problem.

A fairly large part of Prof. Singh's report dealt with the issue of foreigners' infiltration in areas of Assam, Bihar and Jammu and Kashmir. He alleged that instead of deporting the proven infiltrators in Bihar, the chief minister there had assured him otherwise.

UNI adds: About Kashmir, the report said the confrontation between the ruling party and the opposition had led to deterioration in law and order situation. As a result, the Hindus in villages in the Kashmir valley felt very unsafe and started migrating to safer areas, it said.

It claimed that anti-national and secessionist element had become very active as could be seen by the demonstration against the Indian cricket team and protest rallies following the hanging of Maqbool Butt of the so-called Kashmir Liberation Front.

CSO: 4600/1722

## PAPERS REPORT RAJIV SPEECH, NEWS CONFERENCE

## Delhi News Conference

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Mar 84 p 6

[Text]

Congress-I general secretary Rajiv Gandhi said on Friday that a lot of undue promotions given in the ranks of the police and intelligence services in Punjab during the Akali Dal regime were at the root of the present law and order problem in the State.

Talking to newsmen, Mr Gandhi said that was the basic problem of the administration but refused to elaborate.

However, he expressed the hope that the situation in Punjab would be normal in six months' time though he did not think a political solution would emerge during the period considering the present stand and attitude of the Akalis. If they adopted a reasonable and logical approach, there might be a political solution, he said.

In the prevailing conditions, Mr Gandhi said local people were so scared that it was difficult to get information about the terrorists.

Nevertheless, the situation was improving which was a positive trend. But from the party's point of view the pace of progress was rather slow. For the first time, the police were going out and chasing the extremists, he pointed out.

The Congress-I general secretary said it was not a Hindu versus Sikh affair in Punjab. "It is Akali extremists versus the rest". In fact, many Sikhs were affording protection to Hindus.

To a question, he said earlier there was a difference between the Akalis and extremists but it was not so now.

He told a questioner that he did not favour police entering the Golden Temple though there was nothing to prevent it.

Mr Gandhi denied reports of any deal having been struck with former Maharashtra Chief Minister A.R. Antulay while reversing the decision to amend the Prevention of Corruption Act. "It is not a quid pro quo", he said. The party would give all possible legal aid to him though ultimately the case would be decided by the courts.

Asked about the possibility of cross-voting in Maharashtra during the ensuing Rajya Sabha elections, Mr Gandhi said he did not expect any trouble.

To a question, he said action would be taken against former Chief Minister Babasaheb Bhosale if he violated party discipline. But he hoped that Mr Bhosale would fall in line.

Referring to the criticism about the selection of many younger partymen for the Rajya Sabha seats, he said certain norms had been laid down before the Congress-I Parliamentary Board before it decided the candidates.

These were: no Rajya Sabha ticket for those who could easily win a Lok Sabha seat (there was a fairly large number of such persons, he said); no Rajya Sabha ticket for a sitting Lok Sabha member (about six such members had applied); and no ticket for those who had completed two terms.

Besides, it was decided to select younger candidates who could not have been chosen for the Lok Sabha or for a State Assembly seat for they belonged to a constituency held by their senior leaders. Moreover, Mr Gandhi said most of the candidates chosen from the Youth Cong-I were prominent office-bearers and were well known who would prove good if given a chance.

## Speech to Imams

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 24 Mar 84 p 4

### [Text]

New Delhi, March 23: Indian Muslims were "as Indian as Indian Hindus," the AICC(I) general secretary, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said here today.

Addressing a gathering of Imams of Delhi mosques in the heart of the city, Mr Gandhi said India's strength lay in the unity that existed here between peoples of different religious faiths.

Islam in India, he said, had the unique distinction of having existed and thrived in an atmosphere of different religions. It had not only drawn from other religions but had also been strengthened by them. He urged the Muslims of the country to be Indians first and foremost. "The strength of India lies in the fact that all religions are equal here," he said.

Mr Gandhi, however, acknowledged that in recent times there had been some loose threads in the country's fabric of unity. He said this might have arisen from the fact that the pace of development was not equal for all people. "It is our endeavour that all would progress at the same pace," He said. "No one can progress by trampling on others."

He said the greatest problem faced by Muslims in keeping up pace with others was the lack of proper education. He urged for greater concentration in this area "because through education comes progress." He added that he did not mean religious education only.

Mr Gandhi said the government was concerned with the interests of the Muslims but pointed out that this concern could only be translated into action if the Muslims themselves were prepared to extend a hand of cooperation for forging unity.

The function, which was held at the "Baccho Ka Ghar" at Daryaganj was dotted with Congress(I) faces, including the union minister of state for energy, Mr Arif Mohammad Khan, Mr Hasan Ahmed, joint general secretary of the Youth Congress(I) and Mr Vishwa Bandhu Gupta, known to be Mr Gandhi's choice for the coming Rajya Sabha election. While the Imam of Curzon Road masjid, Jameel Ilyasi, took a prominent part in the function it was significant that Imam Bukhari of the main Jama Masjid (which is located a stone's throw from today's venue) was not present.

CSO: 4600/1720

## DEVELOPMENTS AROUND SRI LANKA ACCUSATIONS

## External Affairs Ministry Denial

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, March 22: The external affairs ministry today emphatically denied that there were any training camps of Tamil terrorists operating from Tamil Nadu. This was in response to recent reports in the Sri Lankan press purporting to tell the "full story of terrorist bases in Tamil Nadu."

News reports from Colombo had said the Sri Lankan foreign minister, Mr A.C.S. Hameed, would take up the matter with the Indian government. It is understood that the Sri Lankan cabinet, presided over by President J.R. Jayewardene, had taken serious note of the report, which the Colombo based daily, *Island*, was serialising, based on an article in *India Today*.

The spokesman for the ministry stated, that India had no interest in supporting terrorism, disruption, violence and secessionists anywhere in the world and least of all in neighbouring countries.

He, however, pointed out that as there were several thousand Tamil refugees scattered in Tamil Nadu. It was possible that some Tamil extremists were receiving succour and support.

The Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mr Ranasinghe Premadasa, rejecting Indian assurances, again asserted today that there were training camps in south India for the Tamil terrorists and said: "We have tolerated this nonsense all this time and even India cannot bully Sri Lanka."

## G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 23.

The Government of India is taking a serious view of the orchestrated anti-Indian campaign unleashed in Sri Lanka by no less a person than its Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, a known hard-liner who is evidently bent on creating another crisis to compel the island's President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, to call off the current efforts to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the Tamil problem.

After Mr. Premadasa had made some grave allegations in the Sri Lanka Parliament yesterday, presumably for domestic consumption, about the alleged training of Tamil terrorists

in South India, the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, called the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. S. J. S. Chhatwal, to voice his Government's concern.

But the Indian High Commissioner, who strongly rebutted the allegation, has not informed the Government of India that Mr. Hameed had demanded a joint investigation by the two countries into reports of training being given to the Sri Lankan Tamil "Tigers" in secret camps located in Tamil Nadu, as he said later in Parliament. The Sri Lanka Government has no independent information about the existence of such camps, the nature

of training being given to these Tamil "Tigers" or the kind of arms supplied to them, since Mr. Premadasa's allegations are based entirely on an Indian news magazine report.

### Bogey of interference

The Government of India had some information about a week ago that Mr. Premadasa and his close associates in the Sri Lanka

Government were bent on precipitating a new crisis by raising the bogey of increasing Indian interference to compel Mr. Jayewardene to call off the roundtable talks and halt the present conciliation process through an abrupt suspension of the discussions. The Indian leaders were no less concerned about reports of renewed ethnic violence in the island which could not be attributed entirely to the alleged militancy of the Tamil extremists, since the Sri Lankan armed forces were equally responsible for the recent incidents.

Mr. Chhatwal was called to Delhi for urgent consultations and he went back to Colombo with a special message urging Mr. Jayewardene not to call off the roundtable talks, since it would amount to abandoning the very idea of a negotiated settlement. It was on the basis of this well-meaning Indian advice that Mr. Jayewardene decided to merely adjourn the conference till May 9 and keep the door open for resumption of the dialogue soon.

### Jayewardene's dilemma

The alleged training of Tamil terrorists in India is being used by the Buddhists and other Sinhala militants as a convenient political excuse to sabotage the roundtable talks on regional autonomy as the only sensible way to settling the island's ethnic problem. Mr. Jayewardene himself has become a prisoner of his own predilections, wavering pathetically between his own earnest desire for a reasonable settlement and his understandable reluctance not to displease the hard-liners like Mr. Premadasa beyond a point for fear of undermining his own political position.

The best that India could do in these circum-

tances is to keep on using its good offices to urge patience on the part of the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) leaders, while advising the Sinhala leaders to display greater tolerance. If Mr. Jayewardene himself has not yielded to the counsels of despair and called off the roundtable talks, it is largely because of the friendly influence that India has been exerting behind the scenes.

It is for this reason that the Government of India has been deeply hurt by the highly irresponsible and provocative charges levelled by Mr. Premadasa to justify his own rigid approach to Sri Lanka's ethnic problems. He is being egged on by some other Ministers in Mr. Jayewardene's Cabinet to use the alleged training of Tamil "Tigers" in Indian camps as an excuse for blocking the negotiations.

### No over-reaction

If India has not officially protested against these baseless allegations, it is because the Government is keen on using the current recess to get the Sinhala and Tamil leaders to take a dispassionate look at the new dangers and create a better climate for the resumption of the interrupted talks in a calmer atmosphere. It was for this reason that the official spokesman's denial yesterday of the Sri Lankan charges was couched in carefully worded language to avoid unnecessary offence to Mr. Premadasa, while making it perfectly clear to all concerned that India wants to secure justice to the Tamil community through a lasting political settlement and not by encouraging terrorism whatever the nature of provocation.

CSO: 4600/1719

## TROUBLES REPORTED IN ASSAM TRIBAL PARTY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 84 p 7

[Text]

**Gauhati:** The Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), the only regional party in the state to have made a dent in Assam politics in recent years, is today riven by factional fights which are threatening to split the party for the second time since its formation in 1967.

The leader of the PTCA in the state Assembly, Mr Binoy Kumar Basumatary, was expelled from the primary membership of the party by the senior leadership on February 15 for anti-party activities. Mr Basumatary has been functioning as an Independent member of the House since the beginning of the budget session.

When contacted, Mr Basumatary vehemently denied the charge of anti-party activities levelled against him by senior PTCA leaders. He charged instead that they had compromised with New Delhi and betrayed the trust of the tribal population. According to Mr Basumatary, the PTCA had since its inception been committed to the idea of a separate state for the tribals.

He pointed out that when the PTCA delegation went to Delhi last May to press for the new state of Udayachal, they had been told by the Prime Minister that though she

understood their problems, she was not in a position to help them, as she did not have a majority in the Rajya Sabha. Senior party leaders like Mr Samar Brahma Chowdhury, the vice president of the PTCA, Mr Basumatary said, had then pleaded with the Prime Minister to give them at least a tribal development authority patterned on the lines of the one in Bihar. The Prime Minister, according to Mr Basumatary, was only too willing to concede to this watered down demand and immediately agreed to grant them the TDA.

**Enraged:** Mr Basumatary and some of the younger members of the party were enraged at what they felt was a comedown. So, in July last year, during the PTCA conference in Rangapara, Mr Basumatary moved a no-confidence motion against the 37-member central council of the party. At the same time he resigned from the post of assistant general secretary of the PTCA.

Meanwhile, Mr Basumatary and his supporters, who have managed to gain the confidence of the All Boro Students Union and the Progressive

Plains Tribal Council of Assam (a splinter group of the original party), decided to hold an all-tribal organisation convention to decide the future course of action. Fearing that a new political party was being formed, the PTCA began a slander campaign against the younger group.

They went so far as to inform New Delhi that in October the younger tribals wanted to launch an agitation for the formation of Udayachal and that extremist elements were also being inducted for the purpose. Mr Basumatary and his friends are bitter about this, especially because these very tribal leaders had, after the Gohpur massacre, asked him to raise a paramilitary force to protect the interest of the tribals. Mr Basumatary added that the fact that he and many of his followers are Christians probably went against them in New Delhi, as "Christians and ex servicemen are dubbed extremists in the north-east."

Mr Basumatary will be holding the tribal convention sometime in mid-April in Harisinga in Darrang district, where he and his followers will decide their future strategy.

Seema Guha

CSO: 4600/1719

## NAGA INSURGENCY SPREADS TO MANIPUR NEIGHBORING STATES

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 84 p 7

[Text]

**Imphal:** Naga insurgency has started rearing its head in states other than Nagaland. The war which started in 1956, has now spilled over into Tangkhul Naga country in the neighbouring state of Manipur.

Mr Thengalin Muivah, leader of the four-year-old pro-Maoist insurgent unit National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), has chosen the Utkhrul area of eastern Manipur district as his springboard for future operations. The district is inhabited mainly by Tangkhuls, the clan to which Mr Muivah and a majority of the 1,500-strong NSCN activists belong.

Understandably worried, the Manipur chief minister, Mr Rishang Keishing, met the Union home minister, Mr P. C. Sethi, recently and demanded that the NSCN be banned. Mr Keishing has urged the Centre to declare the organisation as "illegal" under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (1967). Giving his reasons, Mr Keishing said: "Thirty-one persons named in a hit-list signed by Muivah have already been executed. My name is topping

the list. It is an abnormal situation. You cannot stir out of your home without being escorted by heavy security."

**Terrorist activities:** Ambushes, assassinations, extortion of money and forcible recruitment by armed NSCN activists have become common occurrences now in the eastern district. In 1981, the Naga guerillas killed seven fellow Nagas, after accusing them of collaborating with the army. Such killings have only increased since then. In February 1982, the guerillas shot dead 20 soldiers of a Sikh regiment at Namthiok, in a meticulously executed ambush.

According to an intelligence document, the NSCN had slapped a tax of Rs 30 on every house in Tangkhul areas and collected Rs 30 lakhs from this levy in 1982-83 alone.

The climax came on January 30 this year when NSCN assassins gunned down Mr Y. Shaiza, a Tangkhul Naga and former chief minister of Manipur.

**Dilemma:** The people of Utkhrul town, the headquarters of the district, are having to

bear up with both the NSCN and security forces. While they are being forced to express their support for Mr Muivah at the cost of their lives, combing operations by security forces are obstructing normal life.

The three NSCN leaders—Messrs Muivah, S. Angelus Shimray and Ramkathing—are heading the wanted list of the security forces. While Mr Muivah and the executive chairman of the NSCN, Mr Isak Chishi Swu, are now in the headquarters of the organisation at Kyetsan in upper Burma, Mr Ramkathing and Mr Shimray are at large in Manipur. Mr Ramkathing is the suspected killer of Mr Shaiza.

Mr Shimray, a 39-year-old college dropout, has been authorised by Mr Muivah to establish operational links with other underground groups in the northeast. A raid on a hideout at Mapao village near Imphal last June enabled the army to recover documents which show that Mr Shimray had established contacts with Manipuri guerillas and Assamese extremists.

Santanu Ghosh

CSO; 4600/1719

## BRIEFS

CPI-M OFFICIAL DIES--Calcutta, March 28: Mr Santosh Mitra, MP and member of the state committee of the CPI(M), died at his south Calcutta residence this morning. He was 62 and survived by his wife, a son and two daughters. A founder member of the All-India University and College Teachers' Association, Mr Mitra took an active part in the college teachers' movement. He was also a member of the senate and syndicate of the Calcutta University. Mr Saroj Mukherjee, state secretary of the CPI(M), and Mr Samar Mukherjee, leader of the CPI(M) group in the Lok Sabha, in separate messages, condoled Mr Mitra's death. A number of state CPI(M) leaders visited Mr Mitra's house to pay homage. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Mar 84 p 1]

SHEKHAR LETTER TO MANEKA--New Delhi, March 25 (UNI): The Janata president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, has sought the support of Mrs Maneka Gandhi, president of the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch, for the election to the Rajya Sabha of Mr Raj Narain from the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly. In a letter addressed to Mrs Maneka Gandhi, whose party has four members in the state Assembly, Mr Chandra Shekhar has reportedly said that Mr Raj Narain had been put up by the Janata Party considering his long record of service to the country. The United Front has not been able to agree on a common candidate for the coming Rajya Sabha biennial election from Uttar Pradesh. While the Janata has fielded Mr Raj Narain, the Democratic Socialist Party led by Mr H. N. Bahuguna is extending support to the Lok Dal nominations. The Congress (S) is also in the fray with Mrs Ambika Soni as its nominee. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 26 Mar 84 p 1]

VENKATARAMAN RETIREMENT PLANS--Defense Minister R Venkataraman has announced that he would be retiring from public life at the end of this Lok Sabha. Mr Venkataraman told a group of newsmen during an informal chat on Tuesday that he will not seek re-election to the Lok Sabha poll scheduled next year. "Twentyfive years in public life are long enough", he said. "You surely don't mean this?" asked a correspondent. "O, yes, I do," he added with a smile. He didn't elaborate but party sources said afterwards that he had wanted to be relieved of his ministerial duties even earlier but was persuaded to continue by Mrs Indira Gandhi. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 84 p 1]

ENVOY TO MALDIVES--Former Rajya Sabha member, Sujan Singh, has been appointed as the High Commissioner for India to Maldives in succession to Mr Brij

Kumar, reports PTI. He is expected to take up his assignment shortly, an External Affairs Ministry announcement said. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 84 p 5]

WORLD BANK LOAN--Washington, March 23 (Reuter)--The World Bank said on Thursday it would lend India \$151 million to develop large thermal coal deposits in the country's central region. The loan would be supplemented by \$177.5 million from the Government and \$45 million from Central Coalfields Limited, the agency developing the project. Production from the Singrauli coalfields, with estimated reserves of 345 million tonnes, was intended to meet most of the demand from three thermal power stations in western India, it added. The Bank also said the International Development Association, its soft loan arm, would lend \$11 million to Nepal to help it assess a hydro-electric project at Chispani on the Karnali river. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Mar 84 p 7]

ACTING ASSAM GOVERNOR--NEW DELHI, March 28 (PTI): Mr. Justice Tribeni Sahai Misra, chief justice of Gauhati high court, has been appointed to discharge the functions of the governor of Assam and Meghalaya till the governor-designate, Mr. Bhishma Narain Singh, assumes charge of his office, according to an official communique here today. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 84 p 1]

INDO-PAK JOINT PRICING--NEW DELHI, March 26.--Indian and Pakistani businessmen have decided to adopt a joint pricing strategy in respect of items which the two export to third countries--items like rice and carpets for instance. Action in this regard will be taken jointly by the Pakistani Federation of Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce. This decision was reached at a meeting here between the 12-member delegation of the Pakistani Chamber of Commerce and their counterpart organizations in this country. The idea in the words of the leader of the Pakistani delegation, Mr S. K. Piracha is to strengthen contacts and liaison with Indian businessmen with a view to accelerating the process of private sector cooperation and to identify items for mutual exchange and areas for collaboration bilaterally and in third countries. According to a Press release issued by the PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr Piracha, apart from trading through State channels, the private sector in Pakistan was free to export items included in the agreed list by the two Governments. The list, he added, was being expanded to suit the requirements of the two countries. Iron ore, selected chemicals, steel mill rolls, stainless steel, tea and coffee, along other things, may soon be allowed to be imported from India. Pakistan similarly would like to expand the list of its exports to India. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 84 p 11]

INDIAN OCEAN MANGANESE--VICTORIA (Seychelles), March 29. An Indian Ocean research ship has discovered promising areas of manganese nodules and a 190-km underwater mountain range, the project's chief scientist said on Wednesday. Dr. Ravindra Nair, who leads 14 scientists aboard the Indian research ship Gaveshani, said their three-week survey had also found deposits of pure calcareous sands which might be processed for their calcium. The survey is

the result of a cooperation agreement between India and the Seychelles last year, giving the scientists the chance to explore the ocean floor beneath the island's exclusive economic zone. Geologists believe the polymetallic manganese nodules are a potentially rich source of rare ores as they contain up to two per cent of copper or nickel and about 0.5 per cent of cobalt. Dr. Nair said the find of potato-sized nodules was promising. But it would require further work to discover whether it was economically viable to mine them. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 84 p 5]

ANTARCTIC TEAM RETURNS--HUBLI, March 29. A quiet reception awaited the third Indian scientific expedition which returned on Thursday after a 66-day stay in Antarctica. Led by Dr. H. K. Gupta, of the Centre for Earth Sciences, Trivandrum, the 83-member team, including 14 scientists was assigned the task of establishing permanent manned station on the frozen continent. Twelve members of the team including two scientists are staying back to man the newly opened station during winter. The winter team will return along with the members of the next expedition around this time next year. The nation-wide strike by the Port and the Dock workers did not come in the way of the chartered ship Finn Polaris from anchoring at the Marmugao harbour around 1 p.m. today. Dr. S. Z. Qasim, Secretary of the Department of Ocean Development, who led the first expedition two years ago received the team. He flew in a helicopter to join the ship in midsea. Reunion: There was a touch of a family reunion at the harbour as a beaming Dr. Gupta who had grown a beard came down. Mrs. Manju Gupta and their daughters, Nidhi and Binni, had specially come from Trivandrum to receive him. The two women scientists Dr. (Miss) Atiti Pant and Dr. Sudipta Sengupta, who were in the team said "It was an experience worth having". [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 84 p 9]

LOK DAL OFFICIAL--NEW DELHI, March 24. Mr. S. N. Mishra, External Affairs Minister in the Charan Singh Government, today announced his resignation of the primary membership of the Lok Dal. He was appointed general secretary of the party about a year and a half ago by its President, Mr. Charan Singh, when several stalwarts quit the party. Mr. Mishra who visited the Janata party office today to meet Janata leaders, told correspondents that he was not joining any political party for the present. He also repudiated suggestions that his quitting the Lok Dal was linked with the denial of party ticket for the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 84 p 10]

CSO: 4600/1727

ZIA WARNS ABOUT ELECTIONS ON PARTY BASIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] KARACHI, March 29: President Mohammad Ziaul Haq has said that elections on party basis would lead to another martial law in the country.

The President, who was giving an interview to the editor of a Karachi weekly, said that he would have to hold a referendum if political parties form a united front to oppose his election programme. If people approved their demands, he would withdraw "Otherwise", he added, "politicians would be asked to step aside". He also warned that only politicians would be responsible if elections are postponed again.

He refused to accept the idea that only an elected government could improve the situation. "Before us", he recalled, "there was an elected government in the country. If they had controlled things, there would have been no need for martial law". However, he agreed that martial law should not be prolonged as it was causing harm to our credibility abroad.

He said that people's apprehensions regarding August 12 programme was justified. "Despite promises", he said, "we postponed the elections twice in the past. It is not written on our faces that we are going to hold elections". He said that he had nothing to prove that the regime was sincere in holding elections this time. But by March 1985 the people would know that the regime was sincere.

He said that he had a clear perception of the schedule and form of the proposed elections. But, he added, I will not disclose them before the appropriate time. "If I announce the form and schedule of elections today", he said, "from tomorrow people will start campaigning". He said he would only announce the schedule two or three months before the due dates. "I will not," he said, "permit meetings and processions nor a prolonged debate". The President said the Press was free to think whatever it wanted regarding the elections. "At any cost", he asserted, "we will bring the elected representatives to the assembly and tell them: 'This is your shop, now run it.'"

The President said that he had never said that political parties are un-Islamic or they should not be allowed to work in an Islamic society. He said this was Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari's personal belief. He said the Ansari

Commission's report regarding an Islamic political system in the country was before him but the regime had not yet announced what portions it would adopt.

He said he alone was responsible for the ban on the students unions. "It was", he added, "our first priority when we took power seven years ago". He disclosed that he tried to ban the unions six times. He appealed to the students to accept the decision, even if they found it unpalatable, and allow him to proceed with holding the elections. He made it clear that the Government was not planning to ban the trade unions. However, the teachers' organisations are likely to be curbed.

Regarding recent promotions and changes in the Armed Forces and Cabinet, the President said that there was nothing extraordinary about them. He said that the normal tenure of the offices held by Generals Sawar and Iqbal was three years. They were given an extension for another year. "At the end of this extension", he said, "we could have given them still another extension or provided a chance to others". He said that a lot of people aspire for promotions and unless the top places are vacated, it is not possible to promote the people in the lower ranks.

The President stated that there was no possibility of India attacking Kashmir in the near future. He, however, said that whatever has happened in Kashmir is part of a well conceived plan. India was wholly responsible for the present tension in the Sub-Continent but Pakistan had remained calm despite repeated provocations from the other side.

He said, Afghanistan aside, Pak-Soviet relations were never so good as they are today. Afghanistan remains the main hurdle in further improving these relations. Pakistan desired a political settlement and the Soviet Union had assured him that it was prepared to withdraw its forces. "Since then", he added, "we are waiting".

CSO: 4600/495

## FOREIGN POLICY PRESSURES, AMERICAN 'HOLD' ANALYZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar in the "Spectrum" column: "Foreign Policy Pressures"]

[Text] Eversince the revival of our 'special relationship' with the United States, the issue of foreign bases has somehow inevitably cropped up on almost all the platforms. Our repeated denials that we have not given, nor do we intend to give bases to any power, have not been accepted on their face value and the speculations have remained rife with the U.S. may pressurise us to accept a 'Badaber'-like arrangement.

In a recent interview with foreign jouranlists President Zia was forthright and firm in his approach on the issue. Replying to a foreign correspondent's question (presumably an American), he said "Pakistan is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, but it wants to purchase the U.S. equipment and yet we do not want to give you any bases, so please don't ask us". The answer should be a message to the Pentagon to spare themselves as well as us the embarrassment of a demand which Pakistan just cannot meet.

But there remained quarters in the government whose response to the issue has raised many questions. Some persons in key positions keep saying that Pakistan would give bases if they ensure the country's security. This sort of approach conveys the impression that there is a lobby within the government which is not all that averse to the idea of giving bases to 'ensure' what they claim the country's security, forgetting that if it was so we would not have annulled the 'Badaber arrangement'.

Now getting bases in South Asia is a part of the U.S. strategy to check the Soviet ascendancy in the region. And the Afghan crisis and partly the Gulf war have helped to develop a situation which it could exploit for securing bases in the area. This has posed another challenge to Pakistan. Could Islamabad safeguard its security and at the sametime keep itself aloof from America's global amibitions. This is a question of vital importance to us.

Never before was Pakistan called upon to make more delicate decisions. How to deal with the Afghan crisis, how to stay out of the Gulf war and finally how to stop India from fishing in troubled waters--are some of the trickiest

issues Pakistan is faced with today. And the situation is such that a slip on one front would mean a tumble at the other too.

Even in normal circumstances, it has never been easy for Pakistan to deal with India. And in an abnormal situation like the present one, it would require more than the normal astuteness to keep India at bay. Significantly, America has already made it clear that in case of conflict with Delhi, the U.S. would not come to our help. On the other hand the Soviet Union has pledged India all help in any such flare-up. This implies that in terms of regional politics it is the Indo-Soviet axis that matters more than the U.S.-Pakistan understanding. And this also places Pakistan at a disadvantage in any crisis that erupts in the region.

Then comes the Gulf war. Iran has remained our traditional ally and we cannot forget the moral help that it gave us in our wars with India. Up till now we have been able to maintain our neutrality in the Gulf war and the authorities here deserve credit for it. The Arab States led by Saudi Arabia have already sided with Iraq and U.S. warships are prowling at the mouth of the Gulf in an unprecedented show of strength. The joint U.S.-Arab action to contain, if not to defeat revolutionary Iran, is becoming a grim possibility. Having very close links with the Arabs and the U.S., it would certainly not be easy for Islamabad to continue to have an independent policy in the Gulf. But any change in our Gulf policy would be disastrous for the country's long-term security arrangement and planning.

But the gravest threat that Pakistan has been confronted with is the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It is here that the two Super-Powers are trying to out-manoeuvre each other. There are indications that the U.S. thinks that the prolongation of the crisis will ultimately go to its advantage. Selig Harrison and Lawrence Ziring, the two noted American writers and journalists, have repeatedly pointed this out.

Significantly the U.S. has promised us all help in case of a clash with Afghanistan. But in whose interest would such a clash be. Neither Afghanistan nor we can benefit from such an eventuality. This calls for constant watch on the moves of Super powers, be it the Soviet Union or the U.S. If there could be talk of fighting a limited nuclear war in Europe, a limited conventional war in South Asia should be a small matter for the U.S. Then again it is in the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan that the U.S. sees its best chance of getting a base in the area.

In the background of this complex situation, Sardar Qayyum's allegations that the Americans have gained unprecedented say in the affairs of our country has caused great concern. Sardar Sahib is a responsible leader and could not have come out with a sweeping statement without a solid basis to support his contention.

The country is undoubtedly facing grave challenges, but sadly its ability to deal with them effectively has been badly impaired by the divisions at home. Only through a national consensus and greater unity the country could meet the Soviet challenge on the Western border, withstand the American pressure, if there is any, on the issue of bases, thwart any possible Indian bid to make capital out of the situation and finally come out with a meaningful Gulf policy, which can anticipate the emerging scenario in the region.

## POSSIBILITY OF A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Dr Mohammad Waseem: "Towards a New Legal Framework Order"]

[Text] What sort of constitutional framework is the present government preparing for the coming elections? This question is agitating the minds of politicians and political analysts alike. It can be answered with the help of three related questions: will or will not the elections be held under the 1973 Constitution, at least in spirit if not in letter. If not, will there be elections under an entirely new set-up like the presidential system or the proportionate representation system? Or, finally, would there be structural changes within the parliamentary framework under the name of party-less elections, direct nomination of members to assemblies or such procedural requirements which would eliminate certain categories of candidates, e.g. registration of parties or 'noble' behaviour of individuals to be determined by the Powers that be?

### Speculation

Increasingly, there is an air to speculation about elections to be held sometime in the coming 12 months, possibly in October this year. Naturally this situation commands an early crystallisation of the government's thinking on the constitutional framework for holding elections. President Zia is thus poised at a critical juncture of his political career, which is similar to that of General Yahya prior to his announcement of a legal framework order in 1970. Both the Yahya and Zia regimes share one characteristic, i.e. that they stepped into power at the crest of mass movements, which provided them with at least short-term legitimacy. However, there is a great difference between the two movements as far as their political demands are concerned, which in turn determined the policy measures taken by the regimes which followed them. For example, the Yahya government took major constitutional decisions such as change-over to parliamentary form of government, shift from indirect system of elections to adult franchise and break-up of One-Unit. These steps were welcomed by all the major political forces which had demanded them in the course of their agitation. On the contrary, the PNA movement was much more limited in its scope. It never demanded a change in the parliamentary system, adult franchise or the federal character of Pakistan as enshrined in the 1973 Constitution. Instead, its main stress was on re-elections of national and

provincial assemblies under that constitution. No surprise that the Zia regime has constantly shied away from making a clean break with the latter, for the fear of alienating all the political forces in the country. Can we, therefore, still assume that the regime is seeking to override the national consensus on the 1973 Constitution as is feared by many?

The present government's attitude towards the 1973 Constitution has always been ambivalent. It has liked those features of this constitution which ensure the continuing domination of the governmental structure by the traditional power-holders, especially concentration of all power in the pomps of i) the federal government, ii) the executive wing of the government's machinery, and iii) the head of the government. Apparently, these features should have convinced the military regime of the desirability of restoration of the 1973 Constitution. However, as against these structural features, it was the operative features of the constitution, like holding of general elections on the basis of adult franchise, which were really daunting for the regime. Under the simple mechanism of majority-rules-the-country, it could only mean surrendering the initiative to the public, and thus to the leader of the house at the head of a triumphant party; This left little space for manoeuvring by the Establishment.

So, the regime has been searching for alternative routes. Obviously, the presidential system was the first choice, as always, for the military regime. A strong chief executive, unencumbered with the pressures of legislators, was considered most desirable. But unfortunately for the regime, the presidential system was universally condemned in 1969, and no amount of propaganda can rehabilitate it in the public consciousness. This, despite Zafar Ansari's controversial exhortations in its favour on such flimsy Grounds as, among others, that the electorate for the president would be larger than the one for the prime minister (i.e. including the MNA's, MPA's and the Senate members).

As for the proportionate representation system, the regime went a long way with this idea. Teams of political experts were sent abroad and various researches were conducted into the ways and means of holding elections under that system. Various merits of proportionate representation were enumerated, including the absence of personal rivalries, and saving the nation on the one hand from wastage of its votes and on the other from the tyranny of majority.

The greatest problem with this system from the point of the regime was that political power would shift eventually to political parties, each of them wielding a relatively constant potential for mass mobilization according to their respective votes in the election. Strong political parties are anathema to the civil and military bureaucracies ruling Pakistan.

What should then be the basis for holding elections, if the regime is forced to go through the mill? There is a basic contradiction here. The government wants to make election results as predictable as possible; it may thus wish to manipulate the political process in that direction. On the other hand, in a country like Pakistan, where neither periodical electoral campaigns are the norm nor modern techniques of evaluating public opinion are part of the political infrastructure, elections generally tend to be unpredictable. In such a

situation, the government would naturally seek to minimise its risks instead of concentrating on maximising its gains. What seems to be the dominant thinking in government circles now is not to touch the 'sacred cows' of our political system such as parliamentary system and adult franchise, but instead of depend on electoral procedure itself to ensure the safe return of its favourite people into assemblies.

#### Non-Party Polls

Non-party elections are therefore representative of 'informal' political elements like individuals, biraderies, and ethnic/tribal/caste groupings. Political parties which are conscious organisations of people agreeing on both ends and means of certain political strategies and which may relate to other professional associations, trade unions and various 'secondary' organisations would thus be deprived of a footing in the political system. In reality, however such plans might boomerang. It is very hard to believe that the presence of a very large political stratum at the constituency level belonging to various parties would let the electoral process continue on non-party lines. Most probably, these political workers would play a decisive role in determining which 'individuals' win the elections. Secondly, secret alliances between various candidates 'sponsored' by different parties would continue operating even after elections, thus causing more harm than good to the working of the administration's plans. Finally, small provinces would play one dominant group against the other from Punjab in favour of the higher bidder, thus weakening the roots of federation in Pakistan. Perhaps, the government is still in two minds, weighing the advantages against the disadvantages of party-less elections. While an impression is conveyed to the public that political parties may not be allowed to function, it is clear that the government is apprehensive about its unforeseen results. One therefore does not have to be too optimistic to predict that eventually the electoral framework might accommodate a role for parties.

#### Safeguards

Among some other safeguards which the government has considered for itself, is the principle of nominations to assemblies. It has not kept it secret that it would like to reserve at least a few seats for 'talents' from various walks of life. Such a step would again be counter-productive, because the nominated members will in all probability be hooted down in public by their elected compatriots due to their dubious and allegedly unlawful status. In other words, it would simply perpetuate the present political crisis.

Lastly, certain procedural constraints are being proposed, for example, registration of parties, judging the 'moral' character of candidates and no less revision of eligibility age of voters (raising it from 18 to 21 years). It is widely feared that the government might seek to hold elections as a mere formality and might try to stunt the crystallisation of a mass verdict in reality. Recent announcements of holding elections under the Islamic way has given birth to many misgivings about the real nature of the regime's intentions. It is alleged that party registration may be imposed as a restrictive measure, to eliminate parties like the PPP from the public scene. Also

evaluation of the people's moral conduct by the bureaucracy, which itself badly lacks public confidence in this sphere, might in fact jeopardise the whole electoral process.

Can we expect the government to go through the whole electoral exercise without attaching real meaning to it? It seems that the final shape of the president's constitutional framework for the coming elections will be decided not only by itself, but also by the political forces outside it. The government is keenly observing possible reactions of various forums of organised political opinion, most of all political parties and may decide the matter on the basis of prospects of least public resistance. In other words, it is not only the will but also the capacity of political forces to oppose the government's constitutional provisions which would work for or against their incorporation into the coming LFO.

CSO: 4600/496

SCREENING OF VOTERS SEEN AS FUTILE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "A Moral Filter for the Men Screening Voters"]

[Text] From the move to screening candidates to national and provincial assemblies in Pakistan to screening the voters themselves is a tremendous leap.

Special moral and political testing of a few thousand candidates to legislatures, though indefensible is a small exercise compared to the effort to screen about 45 million voters--men and women.

Objections to such an exercise from political or ethical points of view apart, it is an overwhelming physical task. And it is an enormously time consuming exercise. How long will that really take?

The fact is that before this moral exercise is completed the electoral rolls cannot be completed. And without the final rolls elections cannot begin, much less be completed by March, 1985--the deadline set by Gen. Ziaul Haq.

Yardstick

What kind of criteria is going to be prescribed for anyone to qualify himself as a voter in our Islamic state? What will be the final moral or political yardstick for a man or woman to measure upto before he or she is declared fit to vote or not?

Will the qualifications be positive or negative or both? Will they be that he should not have committed certain specified wrongs or sins, or that he should be practising certain specified virtues or both?

And if the specifications will be Islamic, will they be strong on the formal side or will they take into account the larger spirit of Islam as well?

After such a gigantic moral screening operation, will the government come up with only a list of approved voters, or will there be a negative list of men and women not qualified to vote as well?

What happens if someone repents for the follies of the past and promises to lead a good, clean life hereafter? Will his repentence be accepted in the future Islamic spirit and will he be enrolled as a voter?

#### Qualification

The moral qualifications prescribed for the candidates have to be far more severe than those which filter the voters. What will they be?

But the biggest question is: who will do the screening of the voters first, and then the filtering of the candidates? Such men have to be wholly Islamic, above reproach and beyond doubt. Like Ceasar's wife they have to be not only chaste but also beyond suspicion.

Normally the moral screening of the voters in the villages will have to be done by the patwaris, and by SHOs and magistrates in the cities. It may be suggested that the Imams of mosques should do that. But then they know only those who go to pray at their mosques, and that too only briefly in towns and cities.

If patwaris and SHOs have been making some very unsavoury headlines. Imams are not paragons of virtue either. Nor are the members of the Zakat councils always better than both. And they know so few in the towns and cities.

So who will filter those first who are to screen the 45 million voters? The people vote once in five years if there are elections; but these officials are always there. They are to be come pillars of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. So they must be absolutely clean upright and truly helpful to the people.

If they are not there will be violent trading of charges between the accusers and the accused, or between those who did the moral screening and the screened out, with some tragic consequences as in common in this volatile land of ours.

And to whom will the appeals lie after a voter is disqualified? And how virtuous will he be, and how long with it take for him to give his verdict? Surely all this is going to take a long time.

#### System

Or will the system which operated during the Local Bodies elections become applicable to the general elections as well? The ordinance framed for LB polls said that a candidate could be disqualified before, during or after the elections? Maybe this omnibus clause will become part of the new electoral rules as well--this time to apply to the voters as well so that anyone who went past the moral filter can be pushed back later on as well.

But clearly before any kind of moral screening of the 45 million voters is undertaken the officials of the federal and provincial governments,

autonomous bodies and the public sector enterprises will have to be subjected to intense moral scrutiny. Men in the taxation and police services have to be put through special tests.

Only after this enormous process is completed, and the virtuous officials separated from the vice-ridden could the process of screening of voters and later of candidates begin. That means that we will be opening a gigantic moral Pandora's Box which may be difficult to shut and be done with.

#### Moral Tests

And if subjecting people to moral tests publicly comes into vogue we may soon have fathers and sons informing on each other, as has happened in some countries. Do we want all that?

If we undertake such exercises we may not have the promised elections not only by March 1985, not even even by Pir Pagaro's new deadline of 1987 but only by his old dead line of 1992.

What are we doing this enormous exercise for inevitably delaying the election in the process? Only to elect assemblies which will have an advisory role in a strong presidential system an assembly which cannot elect the prime minister, but can be dissolved if it disagrees with the nominated prime minister?

Clearly the government is trying to do too much and is taking too long to achieve too little. Such enormous input to produce such a minuscule output is bad economics and worse politics, but tragically, not uncommon in developing countries.

CSO: 4600/496

UNCERTAINTIES OF POLITICAL FUTURE, FORM OF GOVERNMENT DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 22 Mar 84 pp 5, 6

[Editorial: "The Uncharted Sea"]

[Text] FORTY-FOUR years after the course was set in Lahore on March 23, 1940, nearly thirty-seven years after creation of the State and more than a decade since its lamentable--but foreseeable and preventable--break-up, Pakistan continues to flounder in turbid, troubled waters. No-one seems to have learnt any lessons from the past: neither those who presently hold the citadel of power, nor those who wish eagerly to regain it. Following prolonged suspension of the Constitution, not for the first time in its wayward history, the country's political future remains hazy and uncertain. It may be said that the Ship of State has been kept in political dry-dock for almost seven years; and each scheduled launching was postponed because the helmsman feared that in the open seas adverse winds may wreck it or pirates try to capture it. After much wavering, arrangements are afoot to set sail this coming season, but the compass needle now points to a new direction, leading to an uncharted sea that, it is said, offers a safe Islamic haven.

Operation Fairplay, which had promised revival of the electoral and constitutional processes within three, and later six, months, and had on this account elicited the Supreme Court's blessings for what was described as a temporary aberration, has slowly been whittled down. Its present form and shape cannot easily be identified. Restitution of the constitutional status quo ante is no longer the aim. The fundamental law of 1973 will be amended by Martial Law fiat, a prerogative claimed on the basis of the Supreme Court's verdict in the Nusrat Bhutto Case (without acknowledging the right of judicial review the Court had half-heartedly stipulated). The proposed changes have not yet been spelt out in detail, but plainly the pattern of the new polity will be radically different from anything that our people have known. For example, it is intended to so mould the system that it will allow only the favoured pious and noble elements to get through the fine electoral sieve to be fabricated--and thus, acquire the unsolicited right to represent the people in the parliament or consultative body that will be set up. Much stress is laid on the fact that sovereignty belongs to Almighty God, and that henceforth every facet of life will be ruled by the Shariah. Hitherto, it was generally assumed that, through Ijtehad, the interpretation of Islamic principles and injunctions would be the sole responsibility of the people's representatives, elected to

act on their behalf in the matter of law-making as well as choosing the country's governments. It has not yet been made clear how, under the new dispensation, "the functionaries of Allah" will be kept on the straight path. This should normally be done by the national assembly, but if the assembly itself is to be controlled and partly nominated by the administration, how can it be expected to acquit itself of its duties and responsibilities to the electorate? Western democracy may or may not be anyone's ideal, but logically its substitute must work better and conform more fully to the basic democratic principles, with the guarantee that the State structure will reflect the people's will and will be answerable to their representatives.

Many other issues touched upon in the Peshawar Programme call for further elucidation. If the country's economy is to foster Islamic equality through the distribution of communal wealth witnessed in the early days of Islam, how will this be achieved without State ownership of the means of production and drastic limits on personal property and wealth? Further, when it is said that only the noble will be electors and the elected, that drunkards and adulterers, thieves and dacoits, as well as anti-State and anti-social elements, will be kept out--unless they provide evidence of genuine reform--it is not clear how the electoral laws will be amended to achieve this end. When subjective factors come into play, who will decide whether a once-convicted cattle-rustler has repented and is now a born-again pious Muslim? Will the new law go beyond the format of present restrictions on candidates? How will it be guaranteed that the new restrictions cannot be misused to enforce political discrimination? It needs to be realised that even if the next elections are supposedly conducted on a non-party basis, as the local body polls have shown there can be no such thing as an apolitical electoral contest. The only question is which parties and interests will be allowed or encouraged to enter the lists and which groups will be barred.

The fraternity of about forty Muslim States offers no paradigm of what could generically be classified as Islamic democracy. In fact, for historical and socio-economic reasons, a majority of Muslim States have not yet evolved, or have failed to sustain, a system that can truly be described as democratic. Even among those that profess adherence to Islamic polity, each country is guided by its own interpretation of Islamic injunctions in regard to the relations of the citizen and the State. For example, Iran and Saudi Arabia present interesting studies of widely divergent goals and methods. Nor can it credibly be said--simplistically and somewhat presumptuously--that Pakistan will set up a system similar to that which existed during the Holy Prophet's lifetime. Apart from the fact that the city-State of Medina relied on the status and stature of the Prophet, "and his like will not appear again, in these 1400 years or more conditions of human existence have changed a great deal. Therefore, the demands on a State and the governmental system to meet them have necessarily to go beyond what was needed for a backward tribal society. The view expounded by learned scholars of Islam that no particular political system was prescribed by the Prophet and his successors, because the issue was to be decided by each generation in the light of its needs and aspirations, has never been refuted. The egalitarian spirit and basic principles of Islam will appropriately receive eternal respect, but their interpretation must be governed by modern conditions if we are not to add to the

confusion already created by a multiplicity of institutions sometimes seemingly pulling in different directions. Pakistan's best service to itself and to Islam would be to establish a clean democratic system of government that could serve as an example to our brother Muslim States and, thereby, help to bring to the Muslim world the rejuvenation and regeneration that are preconditions for its future salvation.

As regards a time-frame for the promised elections, there can be little disagreement with the official stand that Government should not be expected to announce a precise time-table immediately. Apart from the main reason given by Gen. Ziaul Haq, namely, that having cancelled the scheduled elections on two occasions in the past, he wants to ensure that his third announcement runs no risks of being postponed, his further point that the period of electioneering should be limited will also be conceded. As long as the target of March 1985 is met, no great noise need be made about the timing of the polls at this stage. However, certain other important matters must be decided. First, without announcing the schedule, the proposed legal framework for elections, if at all one is needed, should be finalized and placed before the people for their consideration and approval. The CMLA-President and his Advisers have been working out their election strategy for many years; whatever the design it should by now have been completed; this should be revealed in its totality. Secondly, it is essential that other preparations for the elections should be begun without further delay. Voters' lists should be made available so that deletions and additions can be carried out in a satisfactory manner. Then, shifts in the population may require the redelimitation of some constituencies, which should be subject to judicial determination so that no area feels aggrieved. It is also necessary that political parties should be permitted to function openly, so that they too can ready themselves for the coming events. Even if the elections are formally said to be on a non-party basis--which in itself is a misnomer--, the people must be consulted on this and all other matters through their chosen political representatives. There is no other way to obtain their consent.

The political plan that is now beginning to unfold marks a diametrical change of direction from all that our people have expected since the concept of Pakistan was accepted. In his speeches, before and after 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam left little doubt as to what he had in mind for the country's future polity. Pakistan was intended to be a State structured on democratic postulates, wedded to the supremacy of the rule of law. And, as the Lahore Resolution specifies, the State would rest on a federal structure with each province enjoying complete autonomy and the Centre vested with powers considered essential for such subjects as defence, finance, communications, etc. The scheme now devised, irrespective of its merits or demerits, deviates from what the Quaid-e-Azam thought was best for the country. With all the respect that we owe to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, it would be wrong to suggest that whatever he had said on any issue should be treated as the last word on the subject. No ordinary mortal can be accorded this position in any country or society. But in fairness to the nation's Founding Father and his people, it should honestly be said that the Quaid's concept of Pakistan is no longer considered valid and that in the best interest of the country it is necessary to define a new path. Not only should this position be admitted, but the people's sanction obtained

through an undiluted electoral process before making any change of such fundamental significance. Only then can it be proclaimed that the new system or style of governance being evolved meets with the people's wishes and will, thus, bring to the country the cohesion and unity that are required under any system to deal with the myriad problems Pakistan faces--within and outside its borders.

CSO: 4600/492

**PAKISTAN**

**JI LEADER ALLEGES REGIME 'WANTS AN ASSEMBLY OF YES MEN'**

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] KARACHI, March 29: Professor Ghafoor Ahmed, Naib Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami, has said that all those parties who believed in the 1973 Constitution were in his opinion patriotic as well as Islamic.

Talking to the Muslim here today he said that he did not believe in right and left parties so far as national issues were concerned. "They have their programme, we have ours. So long as they believe in the 1973 Constitution they have every right to participate in the elections, and if they are deprived of this right on one pretext or another, it will not only be a violation of democratic norms but also of Islamic principles", he added.

In reply to a question he said that the issue before the nation was restoration of the 1973 Constitution, elections under it and transfer of power to the elected representatives. "We should concentrate our energy on this", he added.

The controversies regarding religious issues like "Gunah-e-Kabira" and others were being created purposely to divert the attention of the people from the main problems. "We should not fall a prey to these intrigues," he warned.

He said the bulk of the supporters of the Jamaat were small businessmen and shopkeepers and the professional classes. "We do not have waderas and the capitalists in our ranks", he added. He said he was of the firm belief that for economic justice in the country feudalism and capitalist exploitation will have to be eliminated.

Explaining the change in the attitude of his party, Prof Ghafoor said that the intentions of the Government have been exposed. "They want to replace the present assembly of yes men (Majlis-e-Shoora) by an elected assembly of yes men. Nobody having the slightest courage to dissent will be allowed to contest the elections," he added.

Replying to a question, he said that although it was premature to discuss the issue, he personally was of the opinion, that an all parties election alliance could be formed if necessary for the restoration of the 1973 Constitution.

He condemned the 'new wave of arrests' of political leaders and workers. "On the one hand it is being said that the political prisoners are being released according to a programme and on the other Iqbal Haider, Bizenjo and Tikka Khan have been taken into custody again".

Commenting on the interview of Gen. Ziaul Haq published by the new Urdu weekly, he said the only good thing in it was that the President for the first time has admitted that he himself was responsible for the postponement of the elections twice in the past. "Till now the political leaders were being blamed for it", he said.

CSO: 4600/495

**PAKISTAN**

**LEADER SAYS PAKISTAN SHOULD STAY AWAY FROM GULF WAR**

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, March 28: Mr. Hanif Ramay, President defunct Musawat Party, has warned Pakistan not to interfere in the Iran-Iraq war.

If under the United States and Arab Kingdoms' pressure Pakistan was forced to entangle itself in this war this would not only prove disastrous at the external level but also give rise to conflict within the country.

Mr. Ramay was reacting to an editorial published in a local Urdu daily.

The editorial had held Iran basically responsible for the war with Iraq. It had also stated that as Iran was not prepared to end the war with Iraq, it was the duty of the other Muslim countries to help Iraq and stop the war through armed intervention.

Mr. Ramay said that during a press conference a fortnight earlier he had drawn the attention of the Government and the people of Pakistan towards the danger that the U.S. and Arab kingdoms might exert pressure on "us for intervention in this war and if we came under this pressure, Iran would have no alternative but to come closer to India to meet its defence requirements. Its immediate result would be that we would lose the sympathies of our nearest neighbour and secondly it would create unrest among our people."

Mr. Ramay said in the event of an armed intervention against Iran; Pakistan would have to face Afghanistan in the north, India in the South-East and Iran in the West.

He said because of the ban on political activities people of the provinces were not united and a major portion of the country's armed forces was busy in administrative matters and maintaining law and order. Under these circumstances if Pakistan was pushed in to the war of others it would be disastrous.

CSO: 4600/494

PAKISTAN

**INTERVENTION IN GULF WAR OPPOSED**

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, March 30: Dr. Mubashir Hasan, former Finance Minister and an expert on national economic and political affairs, has strongly criticised the suggestion that Pakistan should militarily intervene to bring to an end the Iran-Iraq war.

In a statement issued here today Dr. Mubashir said that no patriotic Pakistani in his senses can possibly suggest that Pakistan should embark upon such a course in order to stop this regrettable conflagration. Firstly Pakistan is committed to non-use of force in settlement of international disputes. Its involvement in this war would be a violation of the United Nations' Charter. To attack Iran is to invite condemnation from the entire comity of nations. The U.N. Charter permits use of force only in self-defence, Pakistan has not been attacked, therefore it cannot use force against Iran.

Secondly, Iran is not only a friend but a neighbour as well. Pakistan cannot forget the vital assistance rendered by Iran to Pakistan during the 1965 and 1971 wars. Pakistan cannot also forget generous economic assistance given by Iran when other avenues of aid were not so forthcoming. Pakistanis are grateful people and cannot stab any friend in the back.

Thirdly, Pakistan is much too vulnerable. Knowing the present state of relations with India and Afghanistan what friend can suggest even a little downgrading of relations with Iran, what to speak of going to war. Suggesting military intervention in Iran is suggesting national suicide.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan said that it is exactly the national suicide that has been suggested in an editorial of a semi-official paper in its March 27 issue. He wondered how with all the vigilance exercised by the government over what appears in print the suggestion of a war with Iran found a place in an editorial. But, he said, somewhere there is a crack and through the crack there is a connection between this school of thought and those international forces which are keen to jeopardise the security of Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/495

PAKISTAN

LEADER OPPOSES ELECTIONS 'ON ANY NEW BASIS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] LAHORE, March 24: Malik Mohammad Qasim, General Secretary of the defunct Muslim League (Khairuddin Group) has said that if the martial law regime tried to impose upon the nation any election held under election rules other than those of July, 1977, it would be rejected by the people of Pakistan and the results of such an election would be overturned within six months.

He was addressing Muslim League workers in connection with Pakistan Day. The meeting was originally scheduled to be held at Muslim League House, but on March 22, a notice was pasted outside the Muslim League House by the Illaqa Magistrate that no meeting could be held there. The local administration also posted Riot Police at the site. The venue of the defunct PML meeting therefore had to be shifted to Egerton Road.

He said it was very unfortunate that the party which had created this country was not allowed to hold its meeting in the Muslim League House.

Malik Qasim said that this attitude of the Government also indicated that in the eyes of the regime they stood disqualified, because they were not prepared to toe the line which they considered detrimental to the interests of Pakistan but those who were supporting it had full freedom to speak on Pakistan Day. He said this was an example of the criteria of qualification and disqualification which the regime wanted to enforce for the election and the much propagated values of Islam.

CSO: 4600/494

PAKISTAN

ALLEGED MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA BY INDIA, RUSSIA PROTESTED

GF071400 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 30 Mar 84 p 3

[Editorial: "A Mission of Malicious Accusations Against Pakistan"]

[Text] All India Radio and Moscow Radio in their drive of baseless propaganda against Pakistan have taken up two new issues: that a Radio Free Europe station has been set up in Pakistan which is being operated by the American intelligence department--the CIA. All India Radio, quoting TASS, said the Soviet Union has conveyed to Pakistan threats of dire consequences in this respect. Moscow Radio in one of its transmissions has also let out another absurd report that Pakistan has succeeded in producing atom bombs and that it has already tested the device many times. They have also made the "revelation" that the United States and other NATO countries are helping Pakistan to manufacture nuclear arms. The Indian press, quoting Indian Foreign Secretary Rasgotra, has issued a statement saying that Pakistan has already produced an atom bomb and China had given Pakistan facilities for testing the device underground. The statement goes on to say that the Pakistani foreign minister took part in a meeting of Chinese nuclear experts at the place where Pakistan had tested the device in China.

Strongly contradicting both these accusations, a spokesman for the Pakistan Foreign Office has said that there was no foreign radio station in Pakistan and neither there is any such plan before the government. Similarly, the accusation that Pakistan has manufactured an atom bomb and has already tested it is also without foundation. We know that this propaganda attack of New Delhi and Moscow is based on ill-will against Pakistan and it aims to discredit Pakistan in the eyes of the world community. Why should Pakistan feel the necessity of allowing the American CIA to set up a transmitting station in Pakistan? Such a transmitting station can never remain secret.

In regard to the accusation that Pakistan has already manufactured the bomb, the contradictions in the statements of Moscow Radio which said that the United States and the NATO countries were helping Pakistan in manufacturing nuclear arms and the New Delhi press which said that according to the Indian foreign secretary, Pakistan had obtained cooperation of China in manufacturing the atom bomb, are self-explanatory.

It is not the first time that the mass media of India and the Soviet Union have resorted to such outspoken lies. They have in the past also manufactured similar

lies in efforts to prove that Pakistan was a stooge of the United States, that Pakistan has let the United States install its most sophisticated intelligence instruments on its territory, and that Pakistan has offered naval and air facilities to the United States on the Mekran coast. Impartial world observers know fully well that these are baseless accusations against Pakistan and that these accusations are levied by India and the Soviet Union to serve their own purposes.

India indulges in these things to stop dispatch of American arms to Pakistan. It is for this reason that India repeatedly tries to have the United States believe that Pakistan has manufactured an atom bomb with Chinese help and that it has already carried out an underground test. The other point is that India tries by these tactics to justify its own manufacture of atom bombs. The Indian press which has carried Mr Rasgotra's statement, says that according to Mr Rasgotra, after collecting information from different sources on Pakistan's nuclear program, he is convinced that Pakistan has manufactured the atom bomb and that, therefore, India too will do the same. The world knows that India has tested a nuclear device years ago and that no atomic explosion could be for peaceful purposes.

On the other hand, the entire nuclear program of Pakistan is for peaceful purposes so much so that even the United States, which had so far been strongly opposed to it, has accepted the reality that Pakistan's limited nuclear program is entirely for peaceful purposes. It was on this point that the ban on dispatch of arms to Pakistan was lifted.

Similarly, the Soviet Union has its own interests in levying accusations against Pakistan. It is unhappy over Pakistan's principled stance on the question of Afghanistan and it has no other excuse for its military presence in Afghanistan except that Pakistan was a puppet of U.S. imperialism and that Pakistan is involved in the Afghanistan question only at U.S. instigation. However, the Soviet Union has failed to convince the world propaganda. The world knows fully well that Pakistan is a true nonaligned country and that it is not prepared to accept pressure from any superpower to change this stance.

When the United States invaded Grenada, Pakistan did not fail to raise its voice against the United States. Similarly, Pakistan has always been criticizing the United States against its pro-Israeli attitude. On the other hand Pakistan has also protested against the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. All this shows that Pakistan is a country which believes in its principles. Therefore, let India and the Soviet Union manufacture as many lies against Pakistan as they like, they will never be able to harm Pakistan's nonaligned status and its principles stand.

CSO: 4656/134

PACARA DEMANDS TRANSFER OF POWER TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by Nusrat Javeed]

[Text] LAHORE, March 24: Pir of Pagaro has invited all workers of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League to gather at Karachi on August 14 and elect a new leader who could unite all factions of the party. To pave the way for such an election, he recommended the repeal of those clauses of the PML Constitution which made it binding for the aspiring President to be a member of the Council for at least two years. Pir Sahib presented these proposals before hundreds of Muslim League workers at a convention held at the Mukhdom House here on Pakistan Day.

The function was planned to establish the credentials of the Pagaro faction of the League as a living and all-embracing political force which deserved to be asked to form an interim government in the country for the purpose of holding elections. All those who have been members of the League were invited to attend, including various serving Ministers, Governors, Ambassadors. Shoura members and other important supporters of the regime. However, only Khawaja Mohammad Safdar, Chairman Federal Council, Begum Afifa Mamdoot, State Minister for Health and around 20 Shoura members turned up. An impressive contingent of former judges comprising of people like Justice Anwar-ul-Haq, Justice Zaki-ud-Din Pal and Justice Shamim Hussain Qadri were also present.

But, there were some embarrassing absentees too. S. M. Zafar, Secretary General of the party left a few days ago for London and veterans like Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and G. M. Syed declined the invitation. Concluding a chaotic day, which was marred by internal strife, the Pir posed as a pragmatic and shrewd power technician who would lead his party to power without going through any electoral process. He opined that the regime had completely been alienated from the people. Military and bureaucratic oligarchy had created a situation where elections and transfer of power to elected civilian representatives could be fatal. In this situation, he claimed, the only way out was to hand over power to the defunct Pakistan Muslim League as a political force which created Pakistan.

He claimed that his tactics were now bearing fruits. The regime was isolated from the people while the opposition united in the MRD was repressed by the

regime. 'For a decade', he said, 'I practised a policy of self-preservation and survival of the party.' This policy, he added, was responsible for the fact that his party is intact and its leaders are not in jails. 'We have also won major gains in the local bodies polls,' he said. The Pir was of the opinion that a situation has now arisen when all party factions should unite and find new dynamic leaders. He assured his workers that the regime would be compelled to ask them to form a political government and repeated his offer to other parties and groups to join his party.

Earlier, speaker after speaker addressed the participants of the convention and asserted that their party could not be called defunct as it was the only party which had historical roots among the masses. They were particularly critical of the activities of the MRD which they claimed represented those regional and secular parties who were working to pave the way for Socialism in the country. Begum Mahmooda Sultan from Karachi went to the extent of demanding that all parties should be banned in the country and only the Pakistan Muslim League should be permitted to rule the country without going through any electoral process.

There was however, a small group of middle class professionals from Punjab who demanded that all parties should be permitted to work and free and fair elections should be held in the country under 1973 Constitution. This point of view was expressed by Justice Zaki-ud-Din Pal, Abu Saeed Anwar and Kunwar Qutbuddin who also recalled that the founders of Muslim League and Pakistan wanted to establish an Islamic Welfare State in the country.

A large number of participants and speakers were quite vocal against those members of the Shoora who joined the body in violation of the decision of the party. They were called 'traitors' and workers tried to raise slogans against them again and again.

Fida Mohammad Khan, a Shoora member from the NWFP, confronted those elements, claiming that in the Shoora they had pursued the same objectives which the party wanted to fulfil. He particularly referred to the report of the Shoora which called upon the regime to hold elections on party basis and in accordance with the provisions of the 1973 Constitution. He alleged that those who were now condemning the Shoora members had themselves tried to get ministries and other profitable positions from the government. These remarks caused a big disturbance.

Members of the Muslim Students Federations also created problems for the organisers, demanding that their representatives should be invited to speak. They also urged that the ban on the students unions should be removed and resolutions for the purpose be approved by the convention.

CSO: 4600/494

WALI SAYS GOVERNMENT CANNOT AMEND CONSTITUTION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] PESHAWAR, March 25: Leader of the defunct NDP Abdul Wali Khan has said that it would be mockery of the 1973 Constitution if it was amended by the existing set-up, but nobody could stop the Government from doing so by force.

In an interview here today he added that without debating the point whether the 1973 constitution was a good or a bad document the fact was that only an elected Parliament was the competent authority to amend it and any amendments brought about otherwise would be illegal. The present Government, he said, could not be considered as legal and constitutional authority and the legal cover given to it was restricted to period of 90 days and that too for the specific purpose of holding the elections.

Khan Wali Khan said that denying the existence of opposition in Islam amounted to denying the truth as Islam taught democracy wherein difference of opinion had a special significance. The presence of political parties in Islam, he said, could not be denied as otherwise it could be said that Pakistan itself had come into being through an un-Islamic movement and besides the Muslim League, parties like Jamaat-e-Islami and JUP were also un-Islamic. He expressed the hope that ulema in Pakistan will not allow Islam being moulded in accordance with the wishes of the Government and will simply refuse to play the role which some of the ulema had played in serving the interests of the British.

The NDP leader reiterated that he could prove by documents that the United States considered the existence of the political parties against her interests and in deference to the wishes of the Americans, it was being attempted to introduce a system without political parties.

CSO: 4600/494

BAR ASSOCIATION URGES RELEASE OF 163 PRISONERS, PROVIDES LIST

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 22 Mar 84 pp 19, 20

[Text] The Lahore High Court Bar Association has made public a list of 163 political prisoners in the Punjab and demanded their immediate release.

The Bar Association Executive, which met in Lahore on Thursday, for the first time after Chaudhry Khalid Mahmood's election as President, issued the list of prisoners on the basis of information gathered through lawyers who have been released recently. The list is by no means complete but the Bar intends to continue with its efforts to find out the exact number of political detenus and convicts in the province.

The following is the jail-wise list of political prisoners as released by the Bar:

**KOTLAKHPAT JAIL:**

1. Those sentenced to death by military courts: (i) Usman Ghani (ii) Idrees Baig (iii) Idrees alias Tooti.

2. WOMEN DETENUS: (i) Shahida Jabeen (ii) Zubaida Malik (iii) Nusrat Tarar.

3. ADVOCATES: Sardar Shaukat Ali, Mukhtar Awan, Anwar Aziz, Nasir Pannoo, Rao Abdul Rashid, Afzal Sindhu, Jehangir Bader, Malik Mohammad Jehangir (convict) Aslam Gill, Rauf Cheema, Abdul Waheed Bokhari, Rana Aish Bahadur, Mufti Basharat Husain, Subah Saeed, Afzal Latifi, Mian Bashir Ahmad, Raza Kazim.

4. PUNISHMENT CELL NO. 1: Musa Saeed from Bahawalpur.

**PUNISHMENT CELL NO. 2:**

Hafiz Nusrat from Rahimyar Khan, Mohammad Aslam from Rahimyar Khan, Khan Mohammad from Rahimyar Khan, Tahir Mahmood from Rahimyar Khan, Aslam Ludhiani from Rahimyar Khan, Nasir Butt Sialkot, Rafiq Baber Lahore, Atta Ullah Moghal, Lahore, Yawer Naveed, Lahore, Abdul Khalique Lahore, Abdul Hafeez Lahore, Mirza Mahboob Ahmad Karachi, Tariq Gul Mohammad Sialkot, Ch. Bashir Ahmad Sialkot, Ashfaq Ahmad Chatha Gujranwala, Ishaq Gujar Narang Mandi, Baba Shabbir Ahmad, Bhakkar,

Atta Ullah Maher Bhakkar, Mohammad Akram Narang Mandi, Azim Butt Faisalabad, Pervez Butt Faisalabad, Javed Iqbal Lahore, Abdul Haq Lahore, Abdul Rauf Lahore.

**PUNISHMENT CELL NO. 4**

Taqi Mohsin Shah, Lahore, Ali Mohammad Dhariwal ex-MNA Gujranwala, Shahbaz, 1st Secy. Foreign Office, Lahore.

**PUNISHMENT CELL No. 5**

Ch. Mohammad Azim Ex-MPA Sialkot, Ali Husnain Shah, Lahore, Sheikh Shahid, Lahore, Ali Mohammad ex-Councillor, Lahore, Ashfaq Ahmad, Rawalpindi, Dr. Ashfaq Ahmad, Bahawalpur, Qazi Sultan Mahmood (height 2'-11") Rawalpindi, Babu Abdul Rashid Rawalpindi, Babu Abdul Hameed, Rawalpindi, Abdul Rashid, Rawalpindi, Tahir Mohammad, Rawalpindi, Naeem Akhtar, Rawalpindi, Mohammad Akram, Lahore, Niaz Mohammad Niazi, Bhakkar, Gulshan Peshawar, Ashraf Khan Peshawar, Chacha Abdul Haq, Daska, Chacha Abdul Ghani, Daska, Asif Bhatti Gujranwala, Bakar Shah, Lahore, Mohammad Saleem, Lahore and Zaman Butt, Lahore.

Child punishment cell: Sabir Pia, Lahore, Riaz Rawalpindi, Arshad Khan, Peshawar, Hakim Ejaz Bhatti, Lahore, Shoaib Mir, Lahore, Riaz Raja, Lahore, Sh. Hamid, Lahore, Sufi Mohammad Amin Faisalabad, Rafi Malik, Faisalabad.

Under-trial and detenus in different barracks: Agha Mobin, Lahore, Ch. Ghulam Qadir, Lahore, Yusuf, Lahore, Khalique, Lahore, Rashid Anwar, Lahore, Aqeel Ziz, Jhang.

Central Jail Multan: Rafiq Khan convict 7 years, Gujranwala, M.A. Gohair, Multan, Prof. Jamil Umer, Islamabad (convict 7 years), Kh. Moinuddin student leader of PSF from Karachi (detained for 7½ years), Saeed Ali Raza Rizavi Lodharan, Naeem Awan student leader, Multan, Ejaz Ahmad Madhu Advocate, Multan, Mohammad Ashraf, Multan.

District Jail Multan: Zafar Iqbal Chaudhry, NSF leader, Multan, Rafiq Phelwan, NSF leader, Multan (both under trial prisoners), Saif Ullah Saif, labour leader, Lahore, Khalid Goher, student leader, Multan, Khalid Masood Khan, student leader, Multan.

Bahawalpur Jail: Safdar Abbas convict PSF leader, Multan. Abu Bakar student leader, the Eagles, Bahawalpur. Irshad Ahmad student leader, the Eagles, Bahawalpur.

Faisalabad Jail: Rana Farooq, Advocate, convict 14 years RI Gojra. Ghulam Abbas convict 7 years RI, Faisalabad. Prof. Mohammad Saleem, convicted to 3 years RI.

Sialkot Jail: Mr. Abdul Rashid, Lahore, Lala Fazal, convicted to 7 years R.I. Gujranwala, Mirza Sadiq Husain, advocate, convicted to 7 years R.I. Gujranwala. Nazar Husain Mughal, convicted to 7 years R.I. Gujranwala.

Rawalpindi jail: Mehbob Ahmad Khan, NSO, student leader, Faisalabad. Tariq Khurshid, Lahore, Zameer Gilani, Lahore, Tanvir-uz-Zaman, student leader, Lahore. Zawar Husain Malik, Lahore, Jehangir Ahmad Khan, Lahore, Rana Mansha ex-Councillor, Lahore. Inayat Ali Hashmi, Lahore. Kamran Rizvi, Lahore. Zahoor Ahmad Malik, Mianwali, Saeed Akhtar, D.I. Khan, Mubarak Shah D.I. Khan, Mohammad Ramzan D.I. Khan, Munawar Husain Bokhari, Sheikhupura. Ahmad Nawaz, Bhakkar, Samiullah Khan, Bannu Abdul Wahid, Bannu City, Mansoor Ahmad, Bhakkar, Nazir Baluch, Bhakkar (all under-

trial prisoners) in a case under section 302/ 124 A etc. registered at police station Old Anarkali, Lahore, FIR No. 211/81. They have been detained for the last three-and-a-half years. Jamil Umer, Dr. Saleem, Tariq Ahsan, Islamabad, Hamid Asghar Minhas, Islamabad, Sohdar Mueenvi, President National Freedom Party, Baluchistan, Sultan Moghal, Rawalpindi, Kh. Saleem Advocate, Rawalpindi.

Sahiwal Jail: Rozi Khan, Lahore. Ali Haider Shah, student leader of Jam Shoro University.

District Jail Faisalabad: Mohammad Yunas Balli, Toba Tek Singh.

Camp Jail Lahore: Chacha Sharif, Lahore, Attaf Hussain, Lahore, Raza Jamali, Sheikhupura, A.D. Bhatti, Nankana, Sheikhupura. Malik Hafiz Noor Mohammad Kasuri, Kasur, Nawaz Rabbani, Lahore (convict 7 years RI) Shahrawaz Councillor, Lahore 7 years R.I., Tayab Jaffery, Kasur, Jamat Ali, Patoki Raza Aaskari, Chunian. Zahid Ali Anjum, Lahore. Mohammad Islam Khan, Lahore. Imtiaz ul Haq, Lahore. Qaiser Tilak Nagari, Lahore. Aftab Shah, Lahore. Saif Ullah Khan, Lahore. Ramzan Bhatti. Arshad Ansari, Gujranwala. Laik Ahmad Shah, Khushab. Bakht Gir Ahmad, Lahore.

Attock Jail: Ch. Mohammad Irshad, Mr. Noor Mohammad Mahi, Mr. Sajid Pervaiz, Ch. Mohammad Hanif, Mr. Amanullah Khan and Abdullah Pervaiz, (Jhelum Jail), Jamil Abbasi and Mohammad Shafi.

CSO: 4600/492

## FLAUNTING OF WEALTH IN MARRIAGES, FESTIVITIES CONDEMNED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 29 Mar 84 pp 7, 8

[Article in "Between the Lines" column: "Vulgar Waste"]

[Text] SPLASHING huge colour pictures over two pages as coverage of a big wedding, and describing events that embraced more than a week of feasting and festivity in two provincial capitals, a popular Urdu daily has said approvingly, almost exultantly, that such celebrations are a part of Pakistan's culture and civilisation.

God forbid. Marriage customs, including the song and dance, are, of course, part of our culture, adding some colour and richness even to otherwise drab lives. But the vulgar flaunting of wealth by those who possess more money than sense or taste, whose main purpose in life is to forge ahead in what is called (unfairly to all rodents) the rat race, and who feel that they owe no respect to the country's laws or decent social norms, is no part of our tradition and has nothing to do with either culture or civilisation. Weddings are traditionally occasions for the happy get-together of relations and friends. But the exhibitionism and the wanton waste of food, electricity, and time, that has become a habit among many of the so-called elite is a disgusting manifestation of low living and low thinking.

### Offence against law

First, it offends against the law. Four years ago a Dowry Act was promulgated, placing severe limitations on bridal and other gifts connected

with marriages. Strict rules were also laid down to restrict the number of guests who could be invited to wedding receptions, and the menus to be served at these functions. In addition to the law-making, frequent pleas have been made by Government dignitaries calling for austerity. The appeals have had no impact at all, because when elaborate marriage parties are arranged and the red carpets are spread the same VIPs are present to grace these gatherings. The law is thus flouted under the very eyes of those who are supposed to ensure that it is obeyed.

### ... and good taste

Apart from illegality, such displays are in grossly bad taste, specially in a country where a majority of the people live on or below the level of subsistence, where millions are underfed and their families have no access to medical aid even when it makes the difference between life and death. In such a country, for the few who can live in affluence — and the source of whose wealth is often dubious — if showing off is so necessary for their warped egos or if they wish to perpetuate their newly-acquired family names, why do they not compete with each other in other fields such as setting up schools, hospitals, libraries, welfare homes? Further, why do not the moulders of public opinion speak out forcefully against these gaudy circuses? The representatives of political

parties, educationists, even the custodians of pulpits, writers of all categories, in fact every one who has a conscience and some consciousness of the need for more rational management of our society's affairs should try to check such wanton waste of wealth.

Above all, the different Government agencies concerned must decide to enforce the law. And if they cannot do so, because the violators of the law are rich and powerful, let all the relevant ordinances and regulations be repealed.

CSO: 4600/492

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

COMMITTEE FOR PRISONERS' RELEASE--IN a Press statement, issued in Lahore on Saturday, the President and General Secretary of Committee for the Release of Patriots, Malik Qasim and Liaquat Husain Warrach, have appealed to all those political leaders and workers, who had been detained or convicted after July 5, 1977, to send their experience of imprisonment in writing to the Lahore High Court Bar Association. The Committee, they said, would prepare a detailed report about the political detenus and torture meted out to them in prisons during the last seven years. The Committee also intends to hold a reception in Lahore in honour of all those who had to undergo imprisonment or detention under the present regime. The date for this reception would be announced shortly. The Committee has requested all persons who have been in prison or under detention to attend the reception without waiting for personal invitations. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 29 Mar 84 p 14]

PETITIONS AGAINST JAIL CONDITIONS--MIAN Mahmud Ali Kasuri, the noted lawyer and politician, has announced that the Legal Aid Committee formed to help political detenus will file petitions in High Courts and the Federal Shariat Court against the prevailing conditions in jails. Addressing a Press conference in Lahore last week, Mian Kasuri announced the decisions taken at a meeting of the Legal Aid Committee. He said that political workers were shackled in prison and deprived of medical treatment in case of illness. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 29 Mar 84 p 15]

CSO: 4600/492

REMITTANCES SAID SLACKENING, CONCERN VOICED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by A. Sheikh: "How Long the Remittances Boom?"]

[Text] ISLAMABAD--How long we can depend on the remittances boom? Apparently the question is now seriously disturbing our economic policymakers. In a major review of the economy the other day, Finance Minister Thulam Ishaq characterised the source as an uncertain one and underlined the need to prepare for the eventuality of a substantial fall in our overseas workers remittances, at present a critical support for our balance of payments. Excessive reliance on roughly one half of our annual foreign exchange earnings on this vulnerable source is certainly a risky business.

The issue is now said to be an important dimension of a wide-ranging study receiving final touches in the Manpower Division for submission to the President. It has been commissioned at the highest level to probe the latest emigration trends of our manpower to the Gulf region. Its scope also includes the recommendations of measures to re-absorb the returning emigrants in the national economy as it is estimated that about 7.3 percent of migrants will continue adding to the domestic labour market over the present plan period.

While, tentatively, any imminent threat of en masse return of the natives is discounted on the basis of a mini survey conducted during November-December 1983, it has nonetheless noted certain fluctuations in recent period in the quantum and pattern of demand for expatriate labour. Certain recent developments in the Gulf region are also adding new uncertainties. For the first time in many years, a substantial fall in the region's oil revenues is a hard reality. In recent years, a process of enforcement of stricter immigration laws has also been underway. Escalation in Iraq-Iran war and the new danger of a wider conflict too are extra complicating factors. Against this background, a major re-shaping of our emigration policy is clearly warranted. Above all, a close monitoring of the fast changing situation and timely intervention to contain its overall impact on the economy are also called for.

Gulf Connection

The Gulf connection over the past decade or so has indeed profoundly influenced our economic fortunes. The emigration explosion of the seventies and

early eighties has pushed the number of our overseas workers to over two million in a relatively very short period. More than seventy per cent of these are now concentrated in the Gulf region, with roughly half of them in Saudi Arabia. The bulk of more than 100,000 who are still annually seeking their fortunes abroad prefer to go to this area.

The dramatic jump in home remittances from this region in about a decade is a well-known story. In 1972-73, of the total annual remittances of 123.77 million dollars, more than sixty per cent came from U.K. and only twenty per cent from the Middle East as a whole. In 1982-83, the Middle Eastern region contributed more than 2.4 billion dollars to the total remittances of around 2.9 billion dollars. U.K.'s share has shrunk to about five per cent.

The finding of the Manpower Division that the current state of return flow of immigrants has not yet reached the point where it can hurt the economy, should not breed complacency about the emerging problems of the economy. True that outflow of job-seekers still exceeds the number of returnees. But the broad trends do indicate that a definite slow-down in both the rate of outflow of migrants as well as the inflow of remittances is not far off. Gulf countries themselves have proclaimed that the initial phase of their consumption-oriented growth is over that they now need to opt for a more organised path of economic revolution based on a reassessment of their priorities and discouragement of large induction of non-Arab imported labour in their societies. This is, therefore, the time to pause and re-think our policies based on the assumption of an uninterrupted process of emigration and foreign exchange flows from the area.

While the Manpower Division has done a useful exercise in putting the many elements of the changing emigration situation in its proper socio-economic perspective, there obviously is a pressing need to follow it up with a still more comprehensive study on the future shape of things. Perhaps a larger task force involving many public and private agencies should be constituted to evolve a multi-dimensional strategy for years to come.

This is important because inadequately compiled statistics tell only part of the story of the man-splendored Gulf connection. Our economy has been profoundly influenced by it. The dimensions of the great movement of manpower, goods and services have in reality been much larger. But the impact has not been entirely positive. Indeed there has also been partial de-stabilisation of our orderly economic evolution. While there have been some easing of pressures on the economy (balance of payments, unemployment) the connection has also introduced new distortions and imbalances. Abnormal inflation rate, run-away consumption, and shortage of domestic skills in certain critical sectors, have played havoc with our industrialisation aspirations. Unhindered entry of foreign goods via the Gulf has also stunted the growth of many nascent industries. No wonder we are confronted with the grave challenge of striking a rational balance between what we should consume and what we should invest for productive purposes to achieve meaningful long-term economic development. All this, in a way, has made the task of future adjustment and planning more complicated.

While the going is still good, the principal element of a new strategy has to be to ensure the substantial diversion of the savings of our expatriates to industrial investment. Inspite of the tall order of a series of bureaucratic created to cater to the problems of Overseas Pakistanis, there has been no meaningful breakthrough in this crucial assignment. We have not been able to sell effectively even our national saving schemes to Overseas Workers. The Manpower Division's study estimates that if one-fourth of personal income remitted is invested in any of the saving schemes, annual investment through this source on the basis of remittances of 1981-82 would accumulate to the tune of Rs. 1700 million. Some incentives were announced recently, but apparently the response has so far been inadequate because of the failure of our bureaucratic apparatus to reach and convince the emigrants in a meaningful way.

#### Unsatisfactory Work

The Manpower Division's report has highlighted the fact that unsatisfactory working of our banks abroad has helped the growth of unofficial channels of sending remittances. Besides, no effective institutions have been created abroad to catch the surpluses of our expatriates for industrial investment. The study has now mooted the idea of establishing investment centres in the Gulf to educate and attract small investors--as most of our expatriates are--for industrial ventures. Such centres need to have the necessary powers and expertise to take on-the-spot decision on sanctions, etc.

These and many other innovations to capture the present and potential surplus for a long-term investment should not be beyond the capability of our economic managers if a crash programme is devised without loss of time. Permitting the present chaotic situation to drift unchecked on this front can be disastrous for the country.

CSO: 4600/496

PAKISTAN

OMBUDSMAN'S PERFORMANCE REVIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] IN HIS report submitted to the President on the work done by his office from August 8, 1983 to December 31, 1983, the Wifaqi Mohtasib (Ombudsman) has said that the organisation and evolution of the office had posed unprecedented challenges. He was, however, happy to say that he was successful in putting his new institution on a solid footing. He has pointed out that its establishment in a country like Pakistan, with its vast population and wide powers vested in the bureaucracy and remnants of colonial thinking still lingering in the administration, it was not an easy task. He was to protect the individual's rights without jeopardising the efficiency of public (the government's proclaimed) policies. Describing himself as 'the poor man's Ombudsman', as it was mostly the not-so-rich and the uneducated who went to him for redress, Sardar Iqbal said he regarded his work as an act of worship.

However, his report carries an impressive array of figures to portray his success in closely examining innumerable complaints, going through a wide assortment of files, rejecting inadmissible complaints and remedying the wrongs done to about 50 per cent of those whose grievances were legitimate. Complaints admitted for investigation related to delay, inattention, neglect, inefficiency and ineptitude, arbitrariness, discrimination, corrupt motives, administrative excesses, unlawful action and bias. The public was advised through the media to bring to the Ombudsman's notice cases of bureaucratic delay since this tactic was frequently employed by unscrupulous officials for corrupt purposes.

The disclosures made by the Ombudsman indicate that the public administration has been afflicted by numerous ills which had not surfaced mainly because the aggrieved had no access to the relevant authorities who sat smugly in the air-conditioned comfort of their little ivory towers. In fact it is that factor which has frustrated those who did not have the means or the money to make themselves heard. This is exactly what happens when the line of communication between the rulers and the ruled ceases to exist for the populace, and only those with influential connections or with abundance of lucre can pave their way to portals of autocratic officials in the higher and even

middle order echelons. Complaint cells set up by certain departments and autonomous organisations are there more for their publicity and as a PR ploy than for the dispensation of justice and the insurmountable hurdles are there all the same. Articulate sections of the Press are insensitive to the sufferings of the downtrodden while the rest are hardly cared for and as such the grievances of the common man seldom received attention of the authorities.

It is this unbridgeable gulf between the masses and those in authority that has largely been the cause of injustices done with impunity by officialdom while the sufferings of the people have continued unabated. In view of the prevailing conditions, the Ombudsman has made a pointed mention of the fact that investigation of some complaints had revealed a pattern symptomatic of a general administrative malaise. And in order to rectify the situation, he plans to undertake special studies in agencies like the T & T, WAPDA, HBFC, nationalised banks, the Estate Office, AGPR, Railways and similar setups to be able to suggest improvements in methods and procedures in the light of problems brought into focus by the complaints reaching him.

The Ombudsman also contemplates the setting up of inspection teams of evaluate citizens' problems arising out of action in inaction on the part of government agencies and to analyse and ascertain the basic causes of maladministration. Regional office, he said, were being set up in provincial capitals, and standing committees comprising advisers, consultants and experts constituted to assist him in the fulfilment of his responsibilities. We fervently hope that the measures to be taken by him will be allowed to bear fruit even if some of these happen to touch a raw nerve here and there.

CSO: 4600/496

PAKISTAN

FORMATION OF ORGANIZATION TO 'LIBERATE' KASHMIR RIDICULED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 2 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Khalid Hasan: "Liberating Kashmir, Chisti Style"]

[Text] What has made Gen. Faiz Ali Chisti decide to assume command of the newly formed Kashmir Liberation Organisation (KLO) after getting out of uniform, is anybody's guess. The KLO has declared that it does not believe in armed struggle. One wonders if it believes in Santa Claus. We would just have to wait and see, come next Christmas.

The president of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Mr. Sultan Mahmood Chaudhry, while announcing the capture of the general by his party, made the sensational disclosure that the Soviet Defence Minister had recently held 'secret meetings' with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If that is so, then it must be the most open secret in history since the Soviet Minister arrived in Delhi at the head of a 55-member delegation. His meetings with the Indian Prime Minister were secret insofar that neither Mr. Chaudhry nor Gen. Chisti were invited to take part in them. However, in case it was otherwise, we should be told.

Frankly, Gen. Chisti's move has taken me by surprise. I had been waiting for months for the 'disclosures' he had promised to make "when the time was ripe" regarding the political situation in the country. Instead, he has gone and joined the Kashmir Liberation Organisation.

Mr Chaudhry said that the general had "willingly accepted the KLO chairmanship and placed his services at the disposal of the party". Well, I do hope he is right, because if the general has done so unwillingly, I don't think the KLO will get very far.

Why the general has chosen a Kashmiri party and not one in Pakistan (say the Jamaat-i-Islami or the Tehrik), is interesting. He does not come from Kashmir, this or that part, unless his geography has gone wonky and he considers Jullandur a part of the former princely state. If that is his view, then we are going to get into all kinds of problems.

What, for instance, is to prevent India from claiming that Chitral is a part of Andhra Pradesh or that Wazirabad should be amalgamated with Tamil Nadu?

and Toba Tek Singh with Bombay? They could go even further and demand that the port of Karachi should be shifted to Islamabad. I do hope the general is aware of the consequences of his action.

Of course, Gen. Chisti is no stranger to Kashmir. He was briefly minister in charge of Kashmir Affairs (a very good name that, since all we have had in 37 years is affairs). One does not remember him doing much to promote the liberation struggle. He did, of course, help seat and unseat his comrades and critics. I also remember that he made many visits to his vast territories. Perhaps he liked the climate which is not a cognisable offence not so far, at least.

Although I wish the general luck, I am afraid his present campaign is unlikely to go down in military history. Kashmiris do not need retired generals. They need real ones. I understand, of course, that a man has to do something to while away the time, but there are less arduous ways.

Why not, for instance, join Mr. Hanif Ramay's Punja Party? It may not secure the liberation of Kashmir, but chances of getting to Japan should be pretty bright. Politics, it has been said, is the art of the possible.

CSO: 4600/496

FAMILY PLANNING: FEEBLE EFFORTS CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 p 4

[Editorial: "The Unending Population Explosion"]

[Text] DR. MAHBUBUL Haq is right when he says that the population explosion in Pakistan cannot be contained through a clinical or medical approach to it. Nor, in Pakistani conditions, can that be achieved through compulsion. As he told the World Population Plan of Action Seminar at Peshawar, increase in literacy, particularly among women, a lower infant mortality rate than the current high figure, and a distinct increase in the number of working women can help bring about a fall in the population growth from the alarming 3 per cent per year. But this sort of thing has been told by ministers and officials over the years and yet the population growth instead of falling has risen from 1.7 per cent around 1951 to 3 per cent between 1961 and 1981. If the current trend lasts, 60 million people will be added to the existing 90 million within a brief period of 16 years, disrupting our life altogether and producing far too many social, economic and political convulsions.

In the 1950's some of the ruling conservative officials argued that as the prosperity of the country increased and people became richer they would have fewer babies, as in the West. But prosperity in per capita terms is a long way from coming. While the population has nearly tripled within 37 years--from 32.5 million in 1947 to 90 million now, per capita income took 32 years to double in real terms. So determined efforts have to be made to check the growth of population directly instead of hoping that other factors like increase in female literacy and employment will bring down the birth rate sharply.

If other countries in the region are able to achieve far better results, it is because they have launched determined and more open population control plans. World Bank development report shows that if the total fertility rate in Pakistan in 1981 was 6.4 compared to India's 4.8 per cent and Sri Lanka's 3.5 percent, it was because while the percentage of married women using contraceptives in Pakistan was only 6, those using them in India were 23 and in Sri Lanka 41. Even in Bangladesh 12 per cent of the women are using contraceptives, producing excellent results.

There has been no dearth of plans to contain the birth rate. A 20-year perspective plan was prepared in 1981 and publicised with some fanfare. The

Sixth Plan talks of a plan for 27 years, ending in 2,100 with a net population growth of zero. And the population welfare plan 1981-84 will be coming to an end by June. But there have been more plans and less results. While longevity is increasing and infant mortality decreasing, aggravating the population problem, determined, frank and honest methods are not being employed to solve it. The reasons are not financial either as plenty of foreign aid is available for the purpose. But the amount sanctioned for family planning during the Sixth Plan is only Rs. 180 crore. That is not surprising as out of Rs. 86 crore sanctioned for the Fifth Five-Year-Plan, only Rs. 66 crore were utilised.

In spite of the zeal of officials like Dr. Atiya Inayatullah, who is heading the population welfare drive, the major deterrent to even modest success appears to be the religious factor. If the Islamic Ideology Council holds the view that an active family planning drive is going contrary to the will of God and practices like vasectomy or sterilisation of women are not permissible in Islam, and the government comes under the influence of such counsels, the population explosion cannot be checked.

The terrible consequences of slackness in this sphere are too obvious. An increase of 60 million people in the next 16 years would demand an additional income of Rs. 27,000 crore even at the current very low per capita income and a further investment of Rs. 80,000 crore, says Mr. Haq. Obviously the current low key hush hush approach to family planning will not do. Nor can more seminars to stress the importance of small families or long-range plans written in fine language help much. More field work and more persuasion are essential. Contraceptive services should be easily and readily available to parents. Their officers should not be hidden away in obscure places. The people should be repeatedly told the facts and warned of the perils to themselves and the nation if determined efforts are not made to check the population growth. Mild official language and feeble efforts will not do. Only positive and sustained action will produce results.

CSO: 4600/495

## PAKISTAN

### CHANGING TRENDS IN PAKHTOON POLITICS ANALYZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 pp 4, 7

[Article by "Analyst" in the "Issues in Politics" column: "The Changing Face of Pakhtoon Politics"]

[Text] The NDP leader, Abdul Wali Khan, who at one time was being tipped as a "compromise Prime Minister" in the phase of transition from military rule to democracy, seems to have gone into political oblivion. Of late he has been pursuing interests other than politicking--visiting India office Library in London to dig information for his coming treatise on the freedom movement. Has he retired from politics? Is it a tactical retreat from the vulnerable position of a front line politician? Does it reflect defeatism and frustration or a tacit approval of the status-quo?

Wali Khan is the inheritor of a proud legacy. His more illustrious father, the grand old man, of Pakhtoon nationalism is a person whom his fierce enemies would not grudge the credit for his unwavering commitment to a ceaseless struggle. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a towering personality--a man with a passion so dear to his heart that old age, long years of captivity and fluctuations of political fortune do not seem to have made any dent either in his dedication or dynamism. He remains true to his self, unbending and uncompromising in the age-old Pakhtoon tradition. He derives his strength from his life-long association with the masses, the ordinary rural folk, with whom he has a rapport and always regarded as his first love. His Khudai Khidmatgars was a grass-roots organisation which was able to preserve its popular image and democratic traditions despite a serious defection by Dr. Khan Sahib, Ghaffar Khan's elder brother, who became the first Chief Minister of West Pakistan after the creation of one unit in 1955. In its long history the years immediately preceding independence were the most hazardous. Though the Khudai Khidmatgar-Congress alliance had managed to secure majority of assembly seats in 1946 elections, the high tide of Pakistan movement in the mid-forties over shadowed the slogan of Pakistan nationalism, which Ghaffar Khan had coined in his abortive bid to halt the massive Muslim League offensive in the 1947 referendum Ghaffar Khan's long years of imprisonment and his cynical disapproval of the post-independence style of politics prevented him from rising above his narrow regional power base. Thus the task of integrating the Khudai Khidmatgars into the mainstream of national politics was taken over by Wali Khan, who was inducted in politics as his heir-apparent.

The National Awami Party was instrumental in boosting Wali Khan's image as a national leader, particularly after the 1967 split when he headed one faction. In 1970, the NAP had its first opportunity to freely participate in a general election. Though its showing was rather disappointing in the Frontier province (three NA seats and 13 PA seats), yet it paved the way for the formation of NAP-JUI coalition ministries in the provinces of Frontier and Baluchistan.

#### Wali Khan

Wali Khan headed the seven member NAP group in the National Assembly. His unanimous election as the leader of the opposition was not only a recognition of his outstanding contribution to the cause of democracy, his consistency and steadfastness in opposing authoritarian regimes but also a tribute to his personal qualities. He was acclaimed as an eloquent and articulate parliamentarian, who had the potential of becoming an alternative national leader. True to his past, Wali Khan remained an outspoken critic of the PPP regime effectively using the parliamentary forum to expose the ruling party's devious tactics to bypass legal norms.

Bhutto's inborn disdain for political rivals and the urge to become an undisputed master led to his drive for demolition of the opposition's power base. His efforts to topple the provincial governments in Frontier and Baluchistan precipitated a confrontation between the PPP and the NAP. It was not only a contention among unequal but a combat unilaterally imposed on the weaker party. The outcome of the ensuing tussle was disastrous for the NAP. Its provincial ministries were ousted, a reference to the Supreme Court enabled Bhutto to legitimise his ban on the party on grounds of "anti-state activities". Wali Khan alongwith other prominent NAP leaders was hauled up and tried by a special tribunal on charges of "sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the government." The Hyderabad conspiracy trial caused so much mutual bitterness and antagonism that Wali Khan, the avowed democrat, considered the imposition of Martial Law as a blessing in disguise.

Broadly speaking, the NAP came into existence as a alliance of two components of diverse genesis, the regional nationalist and the leftist. At one stage, it had the support of almost all the prominent regional nationalists, including stalwarts like G. M. Syed, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Abdus Samad Achakzai and Prince Abdul Karim. Prior to 1967, leftists of all shades and opinions had gotten together in the NAP enabling it to acquire the image of a left-wing party. Divisions amongst the Pakistani left into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking factions, a by-product of the rift in the international communist movement was a major factor in the 1967 split in the NAP. In the years to come the pro-Moscow leftists were Wali Khan's principal political allies, whose in-fighting caused further divisions in their ranks resulting in the gradual desertion of one faction after the other. The final break came in 1979 when the last batch of leftist decided to join the PNP a party formed by a section of Baluch nationalist leadership led by Bizenjo.

Until the 1975 insurrection, the Baluch nationalists had remained faithful allies of Wali Khan. Mindful of the delicate complexities of ethnic ties in

Baluchistan, Wali Khan had explicitly acknowledged the claim of the Baluch nationalists to the leadership of the provincial NAP. In his endeavour to strengthen the Pakhtoon-Baluch alliance he was willing to forego his claim to uphold the cause of Pakhtoons in Baluchistan.

#### Divergence

The insurgency in Baluchistan was a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It demonstrated a basic divergence in the responses of the Pakhtoons and the Baluch. It split the Baluch nationalist leadership; one powerful section deciding to abandon the mainstream of politics as well as the democratic path. It also paved the way for the eventual parting of ways between Wali Khan and the remaining democrats among the Baluch nationalists. A basic difference of perception appears to have arisen between Wali Khan and Bizenjo. The PNP claims to be the true successor of the NAP and accuses Wali Khan of courting the right and going soft on the National question.

Wali-Khan's long association with the left had earned him the reputation of a radical nationalist, especially during the NP years. Though Wali Khan's basic commitment has always been to Pakhtoon nationalism, yet he had to go along with Bhashani's militant anti-imperialist and anti-feudal posture.

Though he was reluctant to extend allout support to Mujib's six points, yet demand for regional autonomy has been the corner-stone of his plank. He took up cudgels against one unit and its breakup was his sole demand in the RTC convened by Ayub Khan in 1969.

Wali Khan's alliance with the left was incidental; indicative of his pragmatic outlook rather than ideological affinity. Essentially Wali Khan is no radical; his social background and political training tend to make him a man of the status quo. He did not hide his discomfort over attempts by the radical elements within the party to organise the rural poor into class organisations. They were clearly told to choose between loyalty to the party and commitment to class politics.

Wali Khan's response to the outbreak of peasant agitation in Hastingar in the early seventies was a display of anger and anguish.

Though he had reasons to blame the PPP for exploiting the peasant unrest for its ulterior designs to topple the Provincial ministry, yet it was obvious that he did not sympathise engineering with the cause of agitating peasants. He made a common cause with the Khans by joining the landlords' association set-up to safeguard their interests. In foreign relations, Wali Khan's pro-Soviet image is a superficial depiction of his orientation.

His beliefs are not even in the proximity of the ideology and the social system which the Soviet Union represents, and he does not seem to be in agreement with the Soviet preception of global politics.

### Predicament

Since 1970, Wali Khan's predicament seems to be his inability to define his exact political role. He is torn between the desire to make advances into the realm of national politics and the exigency to retreat back to the sanctuary of Pakhtoon nationalism. His deeprooted fear and hatred of the PPP makes him apprehensive of the prospects of its regaining political power and restrains him from a whole-hearted participation in a democratic movement. But the old sanctuary is no more as secure and exclusive as it used to be and a reclusion to the traditional power base does not promise popular response from the Pakhtoon constituency. The volte-face of the NDP on the eve of MRD agitation was so blatant that Wali Khan had to hastily despatch his Begum to restore the balance he had so delicately maintained.

NDP's real dilemma is the erosion of its power base. Over the years nationalism has ceased to act as an attractive plank for the Pakhtoons on account of a number of historical reasons:

- (1) Since they have become partners in political and economic power they no longer suffer from the sentiment of deprivation:
  - (a) they are more than adequately represented in the organs of state power, e.g. Army and the Bureaucracy.
  - (b) fairly high and evenly balanced economic development has taken place in the province. Pakhtoons have a fair representation in Industry, trade, and commerce.
  - (c) their vigour and resourcefullness has turned them into formidable entrepreneurs, who have succeeded in setting up flourishing businesses all over the country.
- (2) Their high rate of social mobility has enabled them to overcome the linguistic and cultural barriers and unfold a process of economic integration with the rest of the country. They are the largest ethnic group in the city of Karachi furnishing the bulk of its labour force and controlling the small and medium business.
- (3) Immigration of Pakhtoon labour force to the Gulf states has brought unprecedented affluence to a large segment of the poorer sections of society.
- (4) Emergence of class polarization in the early seventies was a vital blow to the protagonists of Pakhtoon nationalism. Peasant uprising against the ejection of sharecroppers in the districts of Peshawar and Mardan led to violent clashes between the landlords and the peasants. The MKP emerged as the party of the rural poor, which tried to organise them on province-wise basis against the landowners. Thus the Pakhtoons were no more a homogeneous entity unified against alien exploiters but divided amongst themselves into 'haves' and 'havenots'.

An indication of NAP's declining mass support was furnished by its disappointing performance in the 1970 polls. NAP's brief tenure in office in the company of JUI Ulema, did not enable it to cash any dividends. Despite the fact that the PPP had created conditions that left no option for the NAP coalition except to resign, the NAP leadership failed to mobilize sufficient mass support to make it a live political issue. In fact the PPP was the eventual gainer. Having got rid of the NAP Ministry, it did not only succeed in installing an alternative government, but was able to enlarge its mass support. By giving tacit support to the peasant upsurge the PPP identified itself with the underdog and projected the NAP as the protector of the vested interest. In the tense and cold-blooded showdown between the PPP and the NAP, Wali Khan was outmanoeuvred and outwitted. In addition to the immense advantage the PPP had on account of its control of the State apparatus, it did not hesitate to resort to Mafia-style tactics of deploying armed gangs to disrupt NAP-public meetings. The [word indistinct] Bagh firing incident was the final jolt. Ajmal Khattak was so disgusted that he decided to leave the country for good.

Caution and patience appear to be the focal point of Wali Khan's political behaviour today. He seems conscious of his weaknesses and limitations and does not want to plunge into battles of unpredictable outcome. His party has been reduced in size and appeal. The PNP has stolen the thunder of the plank on regional autonomy and the PPP has won over the youth on the campuses. The Jamaat with its foothold among the Afghan refugees threatens to capture the rightist constituency. Above all the spectre of PPP's revival still haunts the NDP.

CSO: 4600/495

**GHAFOR CRITICIZES BAN ON STUDENT UNIONS**

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] MARCH 28: Professor Ghafoor Ahmed Naib Amir of the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami, today asked the Government to reconsider the ban on students unions in the country otherwise, he warned, the situation might get out of control.

In a lengthy interview with the BBC today, he said it was surprising that students unions were banned after elections in all educational institutions had been held in a peaceful atmosphere. This belied the Government's stand that union activities created tension. He said the decision to ban students unions was a negative step, not a remedial one. It was deplorable that such a decision should be taken in a year described as 'election year' by the Government itself.

He strongly denounced the treatment meted out to the student leaders and their trial in summary military courts. He said all the students should not have been deprived of their rights and only those responsible for creating tension should have been taken to task. He said the sense of deprivation among students has resulted in a joint struggle by all opposing student factions, something hitherto unknown in the entire history of the country.

Talking about the relations of the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami with the present Government, Professor Ghafoor said the Jammat has in the past cooperated with the Government but this was aimed at ending martial law and for the restoration of democracy in the country. The present situation arising out of the ban on student unions might affect these relations, he added.

Asked about the possibility of an alliance with MRD, he said it would be premature to talk about alliance between his party and the MRD but the Jamaat was ready to co-operate with all other parties to induce the Government to hold elections under the 1973 Constitution. He underlined the need for joint efforts to achieve this objective "since the Government wants to perpetuate its rule," the Professor said.

CSO: 4600/494

PAKISTAN

CHECK URGED ON ILLICIT ARMS MANUFACTURE

GF251950 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 17 Mar 84 p 3

[Editorial: "An Influx of Illicit Arms"]

[Text] An Indian citizen was arrested at Lahore Airport with 40,000 rupees worth of arms in his possession. This person from Bangalore had come to Krachi to meet his relatives 2 months ago, but his baggage aroused suspicion when he wanted to return, and it yielded three pistols, one revolver, 185 cartridges and five magazines. The accused was handed over to the authorities and the necessary action will be taken against him, but the fact that he was able to purchase a consignment of arms during a temporary stay in Pakistan gives us an idea of how plentiful illegal arms are and how easy it is to obtain them.

Foreign-manufactured arms or indigenous arms made in Darrah are available within the country through the tribal areas; in other words, the source of this business is no secret. There are markets of smuggled goods in Bara, Landikotal, and Parachinar which, according to observers, sell the latest and most lethal weapons openly. Handgrenades, bombs and other incendiary material can be seen lying in the open in baskets just as fruit and vegetables are displayed.

The tribal areas enjoyed immunity and protection from the law under some agreements signed during British rule but conditions have been created whereby fugitive criminals can seek sanctuary, stolen cars are disposed of and professional criminals and arsonists can obtain all sorts of weapons, without any hindrance, and these should be tackled with the cooperation of the tribal leaders and elders. The tribal areas are represented in the assemblies, their quotas are fixed for jobs, they are permitted to carry on trade anywhere in Pakistan, and billions are being spent from the government exchequer on their progress. Therefore the tribesmen should have no objection or hesitation in having certain responsibilities as rights and duties are linked together.

CSO: 4656/134

NEED FOR INTROSPECTION BY POLITICIANS STRESSED

GF251940 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 19 Mar 84 p 3

[Editorial: Admitting Our Faults is Proper but What Lesson Have We Learned?" ]

[Excerpts] The former governor of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, has said that martial law cannot end until all political parties forget the bitterness of the past and unite and they can be effective only when they present a united front. He said this during his visit to Sind when he was interviewed by NAWA-E WAGT.

The question arises that, when previous mistakes are being admitted, why is nothing being done to learn from them and to be more cautious in the future? This question is very clear and basic but the answer does not seem forthcoming. It is a fact that the past is not like a dress to be removed or changed at a whim, but when aberrations committed in the past are confessed openly, then the resolve to rectify them must not remain ambiguous.

If the repercussions of such an omission were limited to politicians, it would have been considered natural, but unfortunate; but when extremist elements are capitalizing on it and talking of confederations etc, then they are not only irresponsible but also extremists [as published]. Those who talk of confederations do not know the implications of the term. They feel that, if they are more conspicuous and vociferous than others, it makes them superior.

These conditions are due to the lacuna created by prolonged restrictions on political activities. If political activities had continued and the political parties had had a chance to meet their members and, if the elections had taken place, the political leaders would not have had to resort to such irresponsible utterances. They would have been forced to conduct themselves with alertness and responsibility as they would have been answerable to the people but due to a political hiatus, the political leaders have just been talking to assert their presence and are active in raising mere slogans.

In order to prolong their tenure of office, the present military rulers might find this situation to their benefit because the politicians are degrading themselves by their discordant tunes. The other and more important aspect of the fact is that there is a political state of limbo which is giving rise to these irresponsible utterances and slogans which will obviously have repercussions on the nation and the country.

We pray to God that if the politicians are becoming aware of their past misdemeanors, may they also resolve to compensate for them but this does not absolve the present rulers of their obligations which they had assumed in July 1977 when they took over the reins of government. They are also answerable to God and His creatures for their actions, like the politicians, more so, in proportion to their authority.

CSO: 4656/134

COOPERATION AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES URGED

GF301146 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 29 Mar 84 p 7

[By correspondent]

[Text] Islamabad--The Central Working Committee of right-wing Jamaat-i-Islami has called upon all political parties and like-minded elements to create an atmosphere of understanding, and cooperation for realisation of common objective of democratic revival in the country.

The committee, which met in Lahore on 25 and 26 March to discuss future course of action following government steps against its militant student wing, rejected the path of confrontation which it said would further worsen situation, which the country was facing today.

In committee said the government should also release political detainees and students to create congenial atmosphere in the country.

It demanded immediate announcement of election schedule and said the government must complete elections to national and provincial assemblies 6 months before the promised date of March 1985 for transfer of power.

It said all political parties be permitted to contest elections under mutually agreed code of conduct. This is the only way to end the present crisis and lead the country on the path of Islamic democracy, it added.

The Jamaat expressed concern that the government is indulging in dilatory tactics and raising new issues to confuse public mind. Debate on Islamic and Western democracy was meant to create intellectual chaos and was totally irrelevant, the committee observed.

Meanwhile MRD Secretary General Malik Qasim addressing a press conference after Central Committee meeting in Karachi on Tuesday, said MRD is prepared to welcome any political party which accepts its four-point programme.

He denied reports that MRD was allergic to some parties like Jamaat-e-Islami of Pagara Muslim League who have been supporting the martial law regime.

Mr Qasim said MRD has rejected 12 August plan and will not enter into any kind of dialogue with the government under present conditions. The plan is meant to negate elections and all indications are that the government had no intention to transfer power as it is hinting at retaining martial law even 6 months after the promised elections, he added.

Another report from Karachi said outgoing Sind Governor General S. M. Abbasi has refuted reports that all political detainees in the province would be released before he relinquishes charge early next month.

Gen Abbasi said the release of political prisoners is continuing under a definite programme. Under this programme leaders including Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi will also be released but at a fixed time, he told newsmen in an informal chat.

CSO: 4600/506

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

BENAZIR ON U.S.-PAKISTAN RELATIONS--MARCH 30: Miss Benazir Bhutto, leader of the defunct People's Party, now in the United States has asked President Reagan to sever relations with the martial law government in Pakistan, BBC reported. Addressing a public meeting, mostly attended by her compatriots, in New York yesterday she described the elections in Pakistan promised by President Zia next year as "hoax" and said these polls would be a selection of one's choice rather than an election. She demanded that the elections should be held under the 1973 Constitution. In her address Miss Bhutto also expressed her views on two aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy and said that conducive atmosphere should be created for the return of three million Afghan refugees because their continued presence is creating tension in Pakistani society. She also denounced the execution of Maqbool Butt, a Kashmiri leader, by India and described it as a "murder" which could affect relations between Pakistan and India. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Mar 84 p 1]

39 MORE SHOORA MEMBERS--ISLAMABAD, March 29: The President has nominated 39 new members of the Majlis-e-Shoora in pursuance of Article 6 of the Federal Council Order 1981, says a press note issued by the Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs here tonight. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 30 Mar 84 p 1]

TERRORISTS MAY LOSE CITIZENSHIP--LAHORE, March 25: Terrorists and saboteurs who are active abroad may be deprived of their Pakistani citizenship. A proposal on this is understood to be under the active consideration of the government. A decision to this effect is likely to be taken shortly in order to effectively deal with such Pakistanis who were living abroad mostly in "self-exile" and were engaged or encouraging terrorist or sabotage activities back home. Earlier, the Pakistan Government had withdrawn the citizenship of those Pakistanis who were exchanged with the passengers of PIA plane which was hijacked by a terrorist organisation "Al-Zulfikar" headed by Shahnawaz and Murtaza Bhutto sons of the late Mr. Z. A. Bhutto. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Mar 84 p 8]

JAMAAT ASKED TO EXPLAIN--MULTAN, March 31: People would not forgive and forget the Jamaat Islami's character and anti-democratic attitude in the past. This was stated here by Rana Zafarullah Khan, Secretary General of the defunct Pakistan Jamhoori Party, while talking to newsmen. He said the Jamaat may join MRD if it accepts the four-point MRD charter and explains its previous behaviour to the people. He said the MRD would compel the government to hold on elections on a party basis. Otherwise, the government would have to accept MRD-nominated candidates in non-party elections. He said the PDP was trying to convince its allies to turn the MRD into an election alliance. If it failed to do so, then an alliance of four parties, PPP, PDP, NDP, and JUI, would be formed. He opposed the slogan of confederation raised by Mumtaz Bhutto and said the MRD was against confederations. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Apr 84 p 6]

FRG FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS--The FRG will increase its overall developmental soft loans to Pakistan. This was stated by FRG Economic Cooperation Minister Juergen Warnke at an Islamabad news conference today. Federal Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan told the news conference that the two countries signed agreements on protection of capital and avoidance of double taxation. [Excerpts] [BK311212 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 29 Mar 84]

WORLD BANK LOAN--The World Bank has provided a \$100 million loan to Pakistan for establishing medium- and large-scale industries as well as for financing expansion of existing industrial units. The loan will be distributed through the Habib Bank, which has signed an agreement with the World Bank for the purpose. [Excerpts] [BK311212 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 31 Mar 84]

AGRICULTURAL LOAN--An agreement has been signed in Rome under which the International Fund for Agricultural Development is to provide a loan of \$25 million to Pakistan for boosting agricultural output. [Excerpt] [BK311212 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 30 Mar 84]

CSO: 4656/134

PRESIDENT STRESSES NEED FOR JUDICIAL NEUTRALITY

Colombo SUN in English 30 Mar 84 pp 1, 15

[Article by Dayaseeli Liyanage]

[Text] President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday that judges do not have the right to criticise a government like a representative of the people. "When a judge loses his neutrality he becomes an ordinary citizen" he added.

The President was addressing the seventh delegates conference of the National Railway Employees Union at the John de Silva Memorial Theatre in Colombo

The delegates met to elect officials for the current term. Usual business formally commenced with the lighting of the traditional oil lamp.

Addressing the ceremony which followed the President said that his government had give an important place to trade unions. There were 50 Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya branches with 125,000 members in the state sector alone. The National Railway Employees Union was a prominent one among them, he said.

The President said he intended to call a meeting of the general membership of the unions." "It has become necessary to discuss problems facing the country and consider whether policies followed by the government need changes" he said.

He said terrorism, the cost of living and attacks against democracy were the common problems of the world. It was unfortunate that democratic countries like India should have trouble of the nature and proportion as she was experiencing now, he said.

The President said that the government was pledged to protect democracy. Free elections, Parliamentary privileges and the press freedom were all components of democracy

He said everyone should help preserve democracy. Anti-state plots had robbed democratic freedoms of many democratic countires. In Nigeria the President had come to power by popular vote but he and the government were removed by a coup following charges of corruption against the government, he added.

In a corruption-ridden country democracy was not safe, the President said. President Jayewardene also spoke of the party code of conduct for MPs and said MPs should respect it. The conduct of those who acted against it had been investigated and the guilty had been removed.

He said the Presidential Commission would investigate not into abuses of the previous government but also of this government.

He said a lot of complaints had been received but some could not be proved. Wherever allegations were proved the MPs concerned would be asked to resign. In the case of Ministers they would be removed from office, the President said.

He said judges were quite different from other government servants or Members of Parliament. Outside the Bench they should also live as distinct persons. Their posts were protected by law. Bias actions destroyed their independence, the President said.

When a judge acted like any other ordinary man he became an ordinary man, he said.

Members of the judiciary should be very careful about their actions, the President said.

He said "elected Members of Parliament must go before the people. Their actions in Parliament are on behalf of the people. But in the case of the judiciary it is not so."

In a democracy the people enjoyed supreme power. The trade union was an essential component of democracy.

"There were Presidential dictatorships in the world, but not in Sri Lanka. In this country power was not centralised in any individual. It was exercised by the people.

As an institution exercising the elective process trade unions enjoyed a prominent place in a democracy, he said.

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said that all democratic institutions, the economy and the society depended on national security for their existence.

He said he needed the support of all sections to enable him to meet the challenges faced by the country.

He said Sri Lanka's position as a unitary state was threatened. The terrorists who went about showing their prowess were divided into four or five factions. "Unless we know about their plans and activities we cannot finish our battle against terrorism. If we lose ourselves we won't be able to solve the problems. If we reply them properly and with a right understanding it is not difficult to win the battle", he said.

Referring to an interview with Prabhakaran published in an Indian journal the Minister said Prabhakaran had told that his ranks swelled after the July 1983 disturbances. It meant that those who organised themselves after the riots were the terrorists themselves.

He said these men were incapable of fighting a face to face battle. If they did the problem would be solved in a week's time. In 1971 the insurgents fought face to face and the insurgency was put down in a matter of days, the Minister said.

The idea of the terrorists was to provoke the people. "If we lose ourselves under the provocation then an international issue will arise. Newspapers all over the world will accuse Sri Lanka of violating human rights."

The terrorists expected Indian protection for themselves under such circumstances. However the Central Government of India would not assist terrorism. However the terrorists of the north tried to drag India into the scene the Minister said.

He said a philosopher called Balasingham had stated that only 30 per cent of Sri Lanka's army would be deployed in the north. So the idea was to create trouble in the south and force the armed forces to be held back in the south.

He said the armed forces could be sent to the north if there was peace in the south. He promised a solution to the problems of the north provided the members of the trade unions were ready to be calm and take action to protect their work places.

The Minister said every trade union should co-operate with him in this task.

If people acted with a sense of responsibility and understanding within at least a week the government could solve the problems of the north, he said.

Transport Minister M. H. Mohamed urged the delegates not to misuse trade union powers to act responsibly. (110)

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